THE

FOREIGN

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

ART. I.—*Esquisse Morale et Politique des Etats-Unis de l'Amérique du Nord,* par Achille Murat, Citoyen des Etats-Unis, Colonel honoraire dans l'armée Belge, ci-devant Prince Royal de Deux-Siciles. Paris. 1832. 8vo.

MOST pleasant is it to those who stand aloof from, but who do not therefore watch with less benevolent interest, the heady current of human affairs, to behold, that in spite of innumerable obstacles, the small bark which is freighted with the germs of much of the knowledge on which universal human happiness must be based, still preserves an even keel, still goes steadily onwards, and each day better provided, by the care of those who conduct it, with all that is needful to ensure the ultimate success of the voyage. Knowledge is daily gaining upon the world, and close at hand follows Wisdom, to turn every fresh accession of it to the purposes of utility. We do not speak of the knowledge which is taught in schools, that dubious kind resting solely on authority, and which, imperfectly understood, rarely produces fruit. The knowledge we speak of is of that practical kind which tends to strengthen the reasoning powers amongst the great mass of mankind, and renders it a difficult matter to gull them as of yore, with the coarse devices which the self-interested and low-minded amongst them, whether kings, conquerors, priests, lawyers, or demagogues, have been accustomed to set up. Mankind are still gullible, it is true; their kindly sympathies as a body, where not blighted by misery, render them the willing prey of the designing; but the number of those who can hope to succeed in gulling them is every day lessening, because a larger amount of skill is required to overreach their extended capacity. Public errors are becoming more and more obvious in the increasing light of truth, and once beheld, are extinguished for ever. As a mass, men do much wrong in ignorance, but rarely in wilful malice, unless misery urges them; and ignorance alone is the cause of that misery. When ignorance shall disappear from the majority, misery also will vanish. But mere writing, mere words, unfortunately, will not drive ignorance away. The school of practice seems also to be essentially necessary. Wise men have long

foreseen the results of ignorance. Wise men, had they possessed the confidence of their fellows, might have applied the needful remedies; but the unscrupulous charlatan has ever enlisted the passions of the multitude in his service, and it is not in the nature of passion to listen to the words of wisdom. Still is the prospect cheering; for through the very convulsion which seems to be shaking all things into hideous ruin, the calm philosopher who mingles not in the din, who neither urges nor is urged by the warring mass, can see the rising ferment in which is embodied the dim form of Truth. The combatants at times catch fragments of her robe, and are dazzled by its texture. Yet awhile, and she will smile upon them in beaming radiance, and they will wonder at the blindness which led them so long to strike at each other in error.

"Experience maketh fools wise," says the proverb. It is an unfortunate condition of humanity, that mere precepts cannot make an impression. It is needful to pass through the gate of experience in order to reach conviction. Still, much has been done. People refuse to worship as of yore, the senseless idols which authority had set up. They no longer ask how *long* a custom has existed, but what may be the *utility* of its continuance. Numberless confused answers are given both by the ignorant and by the designing, yet only through the midst of this confusion lies the pathway to truth. The clear vision of the philosopher can espy it, but amidst the Babel of tongues, his warning voice will for awhile be drowned. But even though it be late, the day-spring will at last visit us.

The work whose title stands at the head of this article is the production of M. Achille Murat, the son of the Paladin of that name, one of the false gods whom people are now ceasing to worship, who, by way of recompense for the quantity of human blood he shed in the service of Napoleon, was by that remorseless conqueror made King of Naples, which, in the perverted style of the Imperial Court, was considered equivalent to making the Neapolitans free. A Bourbon was turned out, and a Murat was brought in. Their intellect seems to have been upon a par, but the difference between them was, that the former was devoid of physical courage, whereas the latter possessed a superabundance of it, to such an extent indeed, that during the periods of truce while with the army, he was accustomed to engage in hand-to-hand fighting from pure liking for the sport. Without "knowing the divisions of a battle more than a spinster," Murat was an admirable bull-dog, and whenever his master, Napoleon, gave the signal for him to fall on, he was an excellent leader in a cavalry charge, and hewed away with the brawny arm of a butcher. It was therefore perfectly natural that he should bestow upon his

eldest son the name of Achilles, and the internal evidence of the work before us shows, that something of the disposition of the father has been inherited by the son; that he would rather still be "Prince Royal of the two Sicilies," or, it may be, King of Naples or any other kingdom, than "Honorary Colonel of the Belgic Army," or "Citizen of the United States," on which he piques himself with a species of mock humiliation. It has been said that his grandfather was a pastrycook; his father became a king; he himself has been, in addition to the titles already enumerated, slave-holder, lawyer, and postmaster of a village in Florida, which last occupation he altogether forgets to mention. This is more like an Arabian Night's Tale than a story of modern Europe, and is another sign of the age of transition in which we live, wherein good is constantly working its silent way out of evil. In a long dedication to Comte Thibaudeau, M. Murat talks much about rational liberty and self-government, the badness of European governments, and the goodness of that of the United States. He describes the burning delirium with which he quitted his plantation and his study, and hastened to join the ranks of the French army so soon as he heard of the days of July; but the mode in which he talks of his "disappointment" gives strong suspicion, that, dissatisfied with his career in the United States, he was quite willing to *faire fortune* in the career of liberty. He advises the getting rid of European armies by sending them "to make conquests and work civilization in Asia and Africa, which offer a vast field wherein French chivalry may reap a harvest of glory;" after the fashion of ancient Rome. But their numbers are to be recruited from the mother country. The name of MURAT affixed in large letters in kingly style to his preface, with the plebeianism of the christian name proportionately small, clearly points out one person whom the author thinks fitted to command these "armies of conquest and civilization." The affectation of equality in principle, and its practical denial throughout the volume, form a most amusing contrast, notwithstanding the disgust we experience at the hypocrisy.

The work is in the form of letters, written during the years 1826 to 1832 inclusive. A few of them appeared in a small volume in the early part of 1830, while the author was still in America, and were reviewed in a former number of this journal.* These are incorporated in the present volume. The author is a clever, though not a wise man, and moreover a very skilful describer; tolerably accurate where he speaks of facts from his own knowledge, but imbued with much prejudice when speaking of the people

* No. xiii. Art. x. "The United States," p. 194.

of the Northern or (as they are more frequently called) Eastern States. Take the work altogether, it is perhaps the best familiar picture that has appeared of that alternately lauded and depreciated portion of the globe inhabited by our Transatlantic brethren. The work of Mrs. Trollope is a caricature, and of course bears a semblance to the reality; but there is much absolute untruth mixed up with it, and its general character is what a note-book of Charles Matthews might be supposed to be. Upon this showing only can the extraordinary sale it has met with be accounted for; but it is a grievous reflection, that an ill-natured squib of such a quality should be so eagerly seized on, to keep up the base contentions whereby two noble nations are made to dislike each other.* "The interests of the two nations perfectly coincide; and the open, and the covert hostilities, with which they plague one another, are the offspring of a bestial antipathy begotten by their original quarrel."† But though the facts of M. Murat may in most cases be regarded as correct, his inferences must be received with much caution; for, in addition to being a bad reasoner, he is evidently under the constant operation of prejudices, arising from an innate love of arbitrary power, which he vainly tries to disguise under an affectation of liberality.

The first letter treats of the general division of the Union into the States, and his prejudice at once breaks out, in speaking of the natives of the New England States, who are the class of men especially known by the name of *Yankees*,‡ though foreigners have generally made that name apply to the whole people of the Union.

---

* To the reader who is desirous of obtaining accurate notions relative to the United States, divested of the hasty, partial, and prejudiced views of tourists and political partizans, we cannot recommend a better work than Mr. Howard Hinton's "History and Topography of the United States of North America," recently completed in two volumes, 4to., and illustrated with appropriate maps and engravings. It contains by far the most complete and well-digested body of information relative to the North American Republic which has yet been offered to the world, written in a style of clearness, and even elegance, not usual in such works. The first volume is entirely dedicated to the History, which is divided into three books, and brought down to the fiftieth year of the Republic (1826.) The second volume embraces, in five books, distributed into convenient chapters, the important subjects of Physical Geography, Natural History, Statistics, State of Society, and Topography. The labour of collecting, classifying, and condensing, within a reasonable compass, such a mass of various and scattered materials, must have been immense, and entitles the author to very high praise. Not less commendable is the spirit of impartiality which reigns throughout, equally removed from indiscriminate eulogy on every thing that is American, or from unjust depreciation.

† Austin's *Lectures on Jurisprudence.*

‡ The word *Yankee* is said to be an additional corruption from the imperfect speech of the Indians in endeavouring to pronounce the word *English*, which they called *Yenguees*. In Peru there is a popular tradition that Ynca Manco Capac, the first of the Peruvian dynasty, was, in reality, an Englishman wrecked on the coast, whence came the word Yncas-Man. There was also an existing superstition that the deliverance of Peru from the Spanish yoke was to be accomplished by a people coming from the west. When the Chileno squadron, commanded and partly manned by Englishmen, went to Peru to make war on the Spaniards, together with the army of San Mar-

"There (in the New England States) the men seem born to calculate by pence and farthings; but they rise thereby to calculate by millions, without losing an atom of their exactness or the paltriness of their original views. Their greediness of gain is beyond all shame, and they make no scruple of avowing openly, like Petit-Jean, that "without money, honour is but a disease."

"This calculating and avaricious spirit harmonizes wonderfully with the pharisaical observance of Sunday, which they call the Sabbath, and all the puritanical observances of the Presbyterian faith, of which most of them are professors. They are so scrupulous in this respect, that a brewer was publicly rebuked in church for having brewed on Saturday, which had exposed the beer to *work* on the Sabbath day. This they call morality, which they hold consists much more in not swearing, singing, dancing, or walking on the Sunday, than in refraining from the commission of fraudulent bankruptcy. This species of hypocrisy is so natural to them, that the greatest number of them practise it with perfect sincerity. They themselves glory in speaking of their country as the "country of steady habits;" not that they are a whit more virtuous, but because they put on a demure air once a week, and on Saturdays are contented with codfish and apple-pies. Boston, their capital, however, abounds with eminent literary men; it is styled the "American Athens;" it was the cradle of their liberty, and produced several of its most zealous defenders, men equally distinguished in council and in the field of battle. Education is there much more diffused than in any other part of the world whatever. In short, they possess every thing that leads to greatness, and have great views, without ever relinquishing that petty spirit of detail which follows them everywhere. Everywhere you may recognize a genuine Yankee by the adroit manner in which he asks questions about matters with which he is perfectly acquainted,—by the evasive way in which he answers such as are put to himself, without ever affirming anything,—and especially by the dexterous manner in which he contrives to disappear the moment the bill is ordered."

With little that is positively untrue in this statement—the stories of the brewer and the apple-pies being of course merely tales, characteristic of former times rather than of the present—the author has contrived to give a very unfavourable picture of people whom he evidently dislikes. That they have unamiable points, is true; but these are the result of local circumstances, rather than of mental defect. The New England States are the oldest settled, and the land, when compared with the rest of the Union, especially the Western States, is far from fertile. A large annual surplus of people is produced on their territory, beyond what there is food to support, and, consequently, rigid economy is practised by most of the inhabitants, and the remainder emigrate towards the unoccupied lands. Some of them, like the Scotch, become pedlars, dealing in innumerable articles of small value

tin, this superstition did as good service to the cause of the patriots as ever did the anniversary of a victory to Napoleon in inspiriting his troops for a fresh conquest.

and easy carriage. Like most small dealers who make a trifling return, their occupation must yield a large profit, or it would not maintain them, and to increase the profit, much petty trickery is resorted to, as is common, not with the Yankees alone, but with all people of all countries who follow similar trades. The scenes of the Yankee pedling traffic are commonly in the Western and Southern States, amongst people far more wealthy than themselves, and who are consequently more easily overreached in a bargain. Hence arises the scandal that the Yankees are all cheats, which is the impression of the southern and western people, who judge of a large body from what they have seen of a few straggling supernumeraries, just as common-minded "Southrons" take it for granted that all Scotchmen must be mean and covetous, because limited means force them to frugality. M. Murat has fallen into this vulgar error. There may be much hypocrisy as well as much sincerity in their strict observance of the formulæ of their religion, as there doubtless is amongst the Scotch; but it is not true that fraudulent bankruptcy is held in less horror than singing or dancing on a Sunday, as M. Murat insinuates. The strongest minds in the Union are mostly to be found in the Eastern States, though, as is usual amongst most people of mediocre wealth, those minds have been applied, hitherto, to trade and commerce, rather than to other things which would have given them more fame and less riches.

M. Murat thus speaks of the Southern States:

"South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, the Mississippi, and Louisiana, constitute properly what is called 'the South.' Their *interest* is wholly agricultural. Long and short cottons, sugar, rice, and Indian corn, form their staple produce, which require the labour of blacks, and produce a price sufficiently remunerating to prevent them from employing their capital in other pursuits. The richness of the soil, and the luxury of the climate, second the labours of the cultivator to such a degree, that it is much more advantageous to employ the negroes in cultivation than in manufactures. Although the characters of the people of these different States vary considerably over so wide an extent of country, a certain southern temperament is, nevertheless, observable in all of them. The frankness, generosity, hospitality, and liberality of the opinions of the people have become proverbial, and form a perfect contrast to the character of the Yankees, not at all to the advantage of the latter. In the midst of this group, South Carolina has made itself remarkable by a union of talents wholly unequalled by any other state of the Union. The society of Charleston is superior to any that I have found in my travels, either on this or the other side of the Atlantic. It leaves nothing to be desired in respect to refined and elegant manners; but what is much better in the eyes of persons like you and me, who attach no great importance to politesse, it abounds with men of real talent, and is equally free from pedantry and insignificance."

The "frankness, generosity, and hospitality," which the author describes, are precisely those qualities which do not depend upon the individual man, but on the locality in which he is placed. The Yankees are frugal, because they have more mouths than food. The Southerners are hospitable, because they have more food than mouths; and, moreover, live in a climate which requires fewer expensive appliances to constitute comfort. In all countries thus circumstanced, hospitality will exist; for in truth, pleasant company is of more value than the food and lodging which is exchanged for it. It is in this point of view that hospitality or ostentation, or both combined, are exercised at the country seats of the English aristocracy; but they are not found in the dwellings of the poor. Hospitality is a quality, whose very existence presupposes a surplus of means in those who exercise it. Reduce the means below par, and the hospitality would cease. Frankness, generosity, and hospitality, are three things which much conduce to human happiness; how desirable is it then, that the surplus of means which usually produces them should exist in all countries alike. But the generosity which M. Murat vaunts is rather of a questionable kind. The true meaning of the word has, indeed, been very commonly abused. Amongst common-minded people the word generosity means simply the act of giving away any thing, without reference to the means or motives of the giver. Thus they esteem a rich man, who gives away a guinea, more generous, by twenty shillings, than the poor man who gives away a shilling, though the proportion of means may be inversely that of the amount. This is precisely the way in which the West Indian character for generosity has been gained. They have given away what cost them nothing to acquire. It was a common remark formerly, that a miser who went to reside in the West India Islands usually became a liberal man, and a liberal man became a spendthrift. The remark countenances the fact, that neither generosity nor meanness are inherent in the moral nature of the individual, but vary with every change in external circumstances. People desire to hoard those things only of which they dread a scarcity. They do not hoard air, because there is enough for all, and where food is in abundance, they become as regardless of its expenditure. There is a far higher quality, more worthy to be called generosity, the self-sacrificing spirit which occasionally prompts individuals to endure personal suffering and painful privation, for the sake of friendship or of public good; of this quality, we apprehend more will be found amongst the Yankees than amongst the Southerners. Something of hardship, though it may debase many, seems to be requisite in order to bring forth the sterner virtues of humanity.

That a man can behave well in prosperity is no argument for his being amongst the most valuable members of society. The whites of the West India Islands, with all their hospitality, are not generally found the most moral of men, or the most punctilious as to the means of relieving their necessities when unaccustomed privations press upon them; and were the Carolina planters reduced to the same condition, the same causes would probably produce the same effects. As regards their "liberality of opinions, which has become proverbial," this is mere verbiage. Their liberality is applied to themselves—the white land-holding and slaveholding race—exclusively. Put it to the test by touching upon the emancipation or education of the slaves, and their liberality will vanish into furious invectives on the right of property, and the loss they would incur by negro education. The "elegance of manners and politeness," at least the latter, has been produced to some extent by the practice of duelling, which has a tendency to produce carefulness in word and deed to avoid giving offence; but the "talents," which the author vaunts as superior to those of the Yankees, are very questionable. How else is it, that, in the question of the Tariff, the Southern and Western Members of Congress have been so often beaten by the men of the North, in spite of their having truth on their side.*

Speaking of the States of the West, the author says:

"Incomparably the largest and richest part of the Union, they will shortly be, if they are not already, the most populous, and it will not be long before they have power in their hands, as well as luxury, education, and the arts, which naturally flow from its possession.

"Their *interest* is manufacturing and agricultural, although the first has greatly the superiority. The character of the people is strongly marked by a rude instinct of masculine liberty, frequently degenerating into licentiousness, a simplicity of morals, and a rudeness of manners, sometimes bordering on boorishness and cynic independence. These States are too young to render it necessary for me to say much about their politics; they are generally bitter and ignorant."

This is a fair description of the people whose "gougings and nose-bitings" were formerly retailed in England by unreflecting or interested travellers. All rude people have their modes of settling personal disputes, and people who pass half their time in the woods are not likely to be very refined; but we remember the time when many good easy people in England, fond of reading about horrors, deemed that it was scarcely possible to land in the Union without losing at least one eye and half a nose. Yet, at the same time, had they turned off the king's highway, on their

* The ablest man in South Carolina, and the leader of the Anti-Tariff party, is an expatriated Englishman—Mr. Cooper.

road to Liverpool, they might have found, in most of the Lancashire villages, specimens of private battle, wherein the combatants lay down on the earth, side by side, to "kick, ballock, and bite," to the endangerment of eyes, ears, and noses. But it is a curious fact, that the brutalities of foreign countries afford a peculiar charm in narration, which home productions can never realize. History becomes romance when the scene is laid in a remote region.

The following passage is well calculated to quiet the hopes and fears of those who speculate upon a breaking up of the Union:

"Here principles are immovably fixed in the minds and hearts. The people are unanimous as to the government. They only differ as to the persons, and upon some secondary measures. Shall there be a bank established? Shall there be a canal here or there? Shall there be a law against usury? Shall we send Mr. So and So to Congress? These are the objects which occupy, not a stirring and active minority, but the whole nation. People busy themselves till the law is passed, or the election is over; after that they no longer talk of it, nobody thinks of any further opposition."

And, now that steam-locomotion has half destroyed distance, even thus they may go on till the whole land, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, shall be full of people, when there may arise a cause of quarrel, if a large portion of them find a difficulty in procuring the necessaries of life.

The second letter gives a lively and tolerably accurate view of the state of the parties called *Democrats* and *Federalists*. In the third letter there is a vivid description of the mode of selling public lands, and the establishment of new towns, which might delight even a novel reader; together with the whole process which is usually gone through for the formation of a new State. The fourth letter treats of negro slavery; and on this subject the author speaks with all that lack of argument which characterises a slave-holder, blinded to every thing but the one consideration—that his "property" is called in question.

"The reasons that may be assigned for not becoming slave-proprietors can only be of two kinds—of right or of calculation. I shall endeavour to refute them; and, first of all, to justify the right of the master, afterwards, to show you that, at certain periods of society, this order of things is as advantageous to the slave as to the master."

Pleasant enough, perhaps, for those who happen to be masters; but what would the slaves say to it? M. Murat, being a master, takes no thought of that, but maintains that might gives right. The samples of his reasoning are facetious enough.

"A man meets with a lion; he has undoubtedly the right to appro-

priate to himself the lion's skin; but the lion has an equally undoubted right to the man's flesh. The man never thinks of making the lion acknowledge his right to flay him, or to punish him if he does not submit; he proceeds to force him, to compel him."

This is the argument upon which M. Murat claims a right over the slave. He might skin and eat a negro upon the same showing. But let us go on:

"The social state produces great changes in the rights of individuals; nevertheless, the three following rules may be laid down as certain.—1. Societies act towards each other in the same way as individuals to each other, without being regulated otherwise than by the individual (natural) right. 2. Societies act according to the same right, towards individuals who are strangers to them. 3. The members of a society recover their individual independence towards objects, strangers to the laws of that society."

Whereby we glean, that a black man is merely a species of chattel, not cognizable by the laws of a slave-holding society as a rational being. Farther on, the author argues, that a master has as much right to his slave as he has to his horse. But

"In short, the slave has as much right to resist his master, and to make his escape, as the master has to appropriate him to his use, and to compel him to be obedient. There is no contract between them, consequently no reciprocal right, for one social right can only be founded upon some other. The error has arisen from this, of supposing the slave to be bound to a moral duty of passive obedience, which is absurd; for that would suppose a contract where all the advantages are on one side, and all the disadvantages on the other; a contract null *ipso facto*. The master, notwithstanding, has as much right to be supported by society in the exercise of his authority over his slave, as in that over his horse."

This is what a great sage would have called "lawyer's law." What advantages does the slave possess? His master keeps him in working order, to get all he can out of his carcase, and would work him to death if he could thereby get a greater profit, and could supply the waste by purchase. Where is the barrier against "passive obedience?" The will of the master, who is both adversary and judge. But let us do the author full justice. Hear what he says further on:

"It is true, that there is no law to protect the slave from his master's bad treatment; but there is in public opinion a much stronger protection than in all laws; the man who would allow his passions to get the better of him, in the manner I have seen described by English writers, would forfeit for ever the character of a *gentleman*."

Alas for the lot of the poor negroes, if this be their only resource! There is no law to protect them, but if their master were to ill use them, he would be esteemed no gentleman! Just

such would be the case were a man wantonly to ill use his horses. But alter the case—make the ill treatment of the negroes a matter of mercantile profit—let a man be assured that he could realize his capital by working his negroes to death—how long would this *prestige* of gentility operate beneficially for the slaves? Not one hour. The communion of profit would make a communion of cruelty, and he would be esteemed a fool who failed to tread in the common track. M. Murat had better at once take another ground, and seriously set about proving that the negroes are not men at all, but merely inferior animals. So long as he fails to make good this position, so long as the negroes are acknowledged to be men, so long will the whites sustain more degradation in holding them as slaves than the blacks do in being so held.

"The public opinion in the southern states is, I believe, that slavery is necessary, but that it is an evil. I am far from looking at the matter in this light; on the contrary, I am tempted to consider it, in certain periods of the existence of nations, as a good." "If, in political economy, slavery has the result of facilitating the peopling of our southern countries, its effect upon society is not less advantageous. The planter, relieved from all manual labour, has much more time to cultivate his understanding. The habit of considering himself morally responsible for the fate of a great number of persons, gives to his character a kind of austere dignity which conduces to virtue, and which, tempered by the arts, sciences and literature, contributes to form of the southern planter one of the most perfect models of the human race. His house is open to all comers with a generous hospitality; his purse is but too frequently so, to profusion. The habit of being obeyed gives him a noble *fierté* in treating with his equals, that is to say, with every white man, and an independence of ideas in political and religious matters, which form a perfect contrast with the reserve and hypocrisy which we too often meet with in the North. Towards his slaves his conduct is that of a father rather than a master, for he is too powerful to be cruel."

"Compare the elections in the great cities of the North and of the South; what tumult in the one, what calm in the other! In the North the inferior classes of society take possession tumultuously of the place of election, and, by their indecent conduct, drive from it as it were every well-educated and enlightened man. In the South, on the contrary, all the inferior classes are black, tongue-tied, slaves. The educated classes conduct the elections quietly and rationally, and it is, perhaps, to that alone that the superiority of talent exhibited by the southern members in the Congress is attributable."

Be it remarked, *en passant*, that the author himself was for several years one of the slaveholders whom he represents as such "perfect models of the human race."

"In all countries, and at all times, a great majority of mankind is condemned to subsist by manual labour, and I have not the least doubt but that this portion of society is much more happy and much more useful in a state of slavery than in any other. Compare the lot of our ne-

groes, well clothed, well fed, with no care for the morrow and no anxiety for their family; compare them, I say—not with the degraded race of free negroes and mulattos, having the whole weight of liberty without a single one of its advantages, but—with the white labourers of Europe, working twice or thrice as much, and constantly on the verge of starvation, both them and their families. I have no hesitation in saying that our negroes are not only much happier than the operatives of the English manufacturing towns, but even than the peasantry generally throughout Europe."

If this argument be a good one, England is at present in a most false position. The ministry and the people are in fault, and the plans of the Holy Alliance are those best calculated to promote human happiness. All the industrious classes of all countries, whether whites or blacks, ought to be slaves, and the days of July must be held as the overthrow of human happiness. M. Murat assuredly ought not to have been persecuted in the manner he complains of, by the European powers; for he is evidently a good friend to their system, and it were wiser for them at once to admit him into their *clique*, *parvenu* though he be. Dionysius the tyrant kept a school when he could no longer rule grown people; and M. Murat, the Ex-prince Royal, takes to governing black slaves in America. But his argument is unsound. It may be true that the present condition of the free workmen of England is *physically* worse than that of the American slaves; but there is this difference, that the former can improve their condition indefinitely, by the exercise of their own energy and discretion; whereas nothing which the latter can do, short of operating upon the fears of their masters, can help them. It is said in the old classic fable, that when the box of Pandora was opened, evils innumerable flew about the world, but Hope remained at the bottom. The black slaves have no hope, because their masters will ever keep them in a state of ignorance, in order to rule them more easily; but with regard to the European workmen, whenever they resolve to limit the supply of labour to the demand there is for it,—in other words, whenever their numbers cease to be above the existing supply of food,—they will gradually rise in the scale of happiness, and be perfectly capable of appreciating the advantages of freedom, which M. Murat appears to consider them at present unfitted for. But what must be the state of a man's intellect who can seriously declare that the possession of black slaves "gives to the character a species of austere dignity which conduces to virtue?" If dignity there be, it would rather be found in the poor slave who bears with patience the injustice of his lot, than in the inflictor of the injustice.

> "Bad is *all* slavery, but far less degrading,
> To black men traded, than to white men trading!"

Much has been written on both sides of the question with regard to negro slavery, but it has been rather with the furious spirit of partizanship, than in the calmness of philosophic research. We can more readily excuse the philanthropists for their enthuiasm, because they err in behalf of the better feelings of human nature; but we regret that they should injure their cause by it. Great pains have been taken to represent the blacks as capable of equalling the whites in intellect if they were instructed. This is not true of the present race, whatever may be the case in future times; and M. Murat is partly correct in affirming, that "the black race of men is incontestably inferior to the white." If proofs were wanting, look at the fact, that in the West India islands, one white man holds nearly ten black men in a state of forced subjection, which is most distasteful to them. Were the case reversed—one black holding ten whites in forced subjection —how long would it endure? Not a day. The very working tools would prove the weapons of freedom. But, with the exception of Haiti, the negroes have never been able to get up an effective plot; they are evidently infirm of purpose: and even in the island of Jamaica, when the Maroons * had beaten the white troops, they were frightened into submission by some twenty bloodhounds and chasseurs brought from Cuba—frightened even without seeing them. What peculiar excellence have the negroes ever been found to possess? There have been many good mechanics amongst them, and some writers, poets inclusive. But what have they been, more than mere imitators? No great invention, no books of high merit, have been produced by them. Their physical construction is awkward and unshapely; their heads betray no capacity for the developement of high intellectual faculties, and their power of language is exceedingly imperfect. Cunning in them for the most part supplies the place of what in the whites is wisdom. Professor Lawrence says of them—

"To expect that the Africans can be raised by any culture to an equal height in moral sentiments and intellectual energy with Europeans, appears to me quite as unreasonable as it would be to hope that the bull-dog may equal the greyhound in speed: that the latter may be taught to hunt by scent, like the hound; or that the mastiff may rival in talents and acquirements the sagacious and docile poodle."†

What remedy is there then, our readers will ask? Must America ever be cursed with the infliction of slavery? M. Murat has answered the question, and, we think, in a satisfactory manner.

---

* From the Spanish word *cimarron*, signifying *wild, unconquered.*

† We do not agree with the professor as to what may be in future times, but confirm his opinion as to the present existing race.

"Formerly slavery was general in the United States, but in proportion as free labour has become cheaper, the legislatures have abolished it. The same thing is now taking place under our eyes in Virginia and Maryland, where the population having increased, the price of labour and of negroes has diminished. The proprietors get rid of them as fast as they can; these negroes are purchased for the new states, in which labour is dear. In a few years there will be scarcely any slaves in these two states, and the legislatures will do well, for form's sake, to abolish slavery in them. The same thing will happen in time in all the states, present and future, and the Union will be at last fairly rid of this domestic plague."

This is precisely the mode in which the abolition of slavery must take place in the Union, for to suppose that the slave-holders will give up what they have been taught to consider their property, and many of them possessing no other property, is a hopeless case, because they have the power of maintaining it; and if the negroes were enlightened enough to give regular battle for their freedom, the whites, from their superior intelligence, would slaughter them by thousands. The writer of this article was once rambling over the estate of Mount Vernon, in Virginia, formerly the property of General Washington, and, having lost his way, entered into conversation with an old negress, in the course of which she burst into a long tirade against the Virginian land-holders, who were selling off their slaves to the southern markets, and in some cases giving them their freedom. She herself had formerly been a slave on the estate of Mount Vernon, but had been free six years, and concluded by wishing that she were a slave still, for in that state she had nothing to think of, whereas, being free, she could hardly make a living. Let not the anti-abolitionists quote this as an evidence in their favour. It is but another proof added to the many others, how debasing a thing slavery must be when it deprives human beings of the capacity of self-dependance.

The test of experience has made it very clear, that the whites and blacks cannot live on one territory in a state of equality, any more than the whites and red men. They never mix, except to assume the position of master and servant, or of master and slave. They cannot associate together, for they are incapable of conversing upon the same subjects; and, moreover, the peculiar odour emanating from the bodies of negroes, even when cleanly, more especially in a warm climate, renders them personally unpleasant to white people. Those who have not lived amongst them cannot judge of this matter, but those who have will readily agree to our statement. There are individuals of the white races from whom a strong musky odour is emitted, unpleasant enough, it is true, but not comparable with that of the negro, which re-

sembles that exuding from the snake, the crocodile, and the beetle.

Whenever the black slaves shall acquire knowledge, and the power of consecutive thinking, it is certain that they will not submit to remain slaves. They will either acquire their freedom by concession or force, or they will cut the throats of the whites as they did in Haiti, or lose their own lives in the attempt. The question is, how shall this be prevented? In the case of the American continent, by exportation to Africa. In the case of the West India Islands, by the abdication of the whites, whose claim to compensation should meet with liberal consideration. Possibly the slaves would be willing to work out their own freedom if the matter were fairly put to them. Some persons have speculated on the possibility of the negro race being absorbed by intermarriage with the whites. But even could this be accomplished, we should be loth to see it take place, because it would much deteriorate a race which is greatly superior to the other. It would be a long stride backwards in civilization. Were the race-horse intermingled with the cart horse, the produce would imperfectly possess the qualities of both. The world is wide enough to hold both black and white nations on its surface, and when there shall be no causes of collision between them, they will cease to inflict mutual injury. Oh that a *man of black blood* might arise, to work out the regeneration of his race in Africa, to undo the work of which the protector of the Red Indians, the philanthropic but unwise, and consequently unjust, Las Casas, was the original projector,—the horrible and atrocious slave trade, and its results!

The fifth letter gives an account by no means flattering of the state of religion in the Union. On this subject, however, we must observe, that the author's ideas are entirely those of the continental *ultra-liberal* school, of men with whom "religion" and "superstition" are synonimous terms—who regard all outward forms of religion as a mere farce, and all who practise them as bigots, knaves, or hypocrites. Such opinions will not be received with much favour or respect, either in America or this country. The sum total of his conclusions, very complacently stated, is, that "the great current of opinions, of literature, and the philosophy of the age," will sweep away the church, and "finally destroy the Christian religion;" and that this "destruction" has, "perhaps," made greater progress in the United States than is generally supposed. As an active but *insidious* co-operator in this work of "destruction," he enumerates the sect of Unitarians, which, by his account, has made great progress lately at Boston, and now includes almost every man of eminence in that city among its con-

verts. The Unitarians, we may remark, whatever M. Murat may think, are a *Christian* sect, and would disclaim, we doubt not, as indignantly as every other sect of Christians, the idea of being associated in any such design as is here imputed to them.

The sixth letter is on the subject of the administration of justice, and the rapturous mode in which the author speaks of his profession of an advocate, or what we should call a practising barrister, gives sufficient evidence that he has a strong family liking for that species of justice which the longest sword or the shrewdest wit can procure. He, evidently, neither understands jurisprudence nor legislation, and cares nothing for laws except as they open to him a field for the exercise of that species of chicanery which enables the man of ready wit to take advantage of his duller opponent. No man of a rightly constituted mind could have deliberately published the following remarks. They might have served for an after-dinner jest, but as a digested opinion, they mark the utterer for one unfitted to be trusted with authority over his fellows.

"To me, in fact, nothing is at all comparable to the interior of a tribunal. I could pass my whole life with pleasure there, even if I were forced to be but a silent spectator. People talk of the theatre! it is but a feeble and blundering copy of a court of justice. Here we have the reality. Tragedy, comedy, farce and melo-drama, are all to be found here, and the actors are much better than those on the stage, because what they represent are the passions which they really feel; I speak of the suitors and the witnesses. It requires one to have practised to know the pleasure arising from following up an idea,—of hunting out a law which seems to evade your search through twenty volumes,—to drive it from one entrenchment to another. When you have got hold of it at last, after verifying a thousand quotations, what a triumph! A very different one, indeed, from that of catching a red-fox after a chase of twenty miles! You arrive at the court; with what pleasure you enjoy the surprise which your discovery causes to the adverse party. He wishes to postpone the trial—you will not consent to it: it must immediately proceed. The examination of the witnesses commences—all are on his side—until you cross-examine them. I know nothing more amusing than to cross-examine a witness, half rogue, half fool, who has been well tutored by the adverse party, before a good jury. What art it requires to make him contradict himself, and after that, how easy it is to destroy the fabric of reasoning of one's adversary! The pleadings follow: then the advocate becomes an actor; it is the finest part of the whole business: and when he has played his part well, whether the cause is won or lost, he carries home the consciousness of having done all that was possible to do, and his client, even if he is the loser, joins in the unanimous applause bestowed on his exertions by the court and the auditory. So that whatever may be the fate of the cause, it always furnishes the advocate with the means of triumph. I cannot speak of

PUBLIC LIBRARY,
No. 950.F7Q
DETROIT, MICH.

the profession otherwise than *con amore*, for the happiest hours of my life are those which I have devoted to it."

What a base kind of ambition is developed through the whole of this passage! How strongly marked is the self-same spirit which made of the elder Murat a soldier of fortune! What a disregard of every thing but intensely selfish objects, which would lead him to sacrifice the whole human race for the gratification of individual ambition. Elsewhere he praises the laws of the United States, but what a libel is it on them, that he should have been enabled to extract from them so much tyrannous delight, hunting their meaning through twenty volumes, to secure a cause right or wrong, perchance to crush the helpless or aid the guilty, playing the part of an actor in real scenes, either of tragedy or comedy, and then describing it all with infinite gusto, as a thing far preferable to hunting a red fox twenty miles! Are human beings only made for sport to such men as this? We fear that these feelings are by no means uncommon, even in England. At a meeting of barristers, at which we were present, the conversation happening to turn upon a member who was expected to retire from practice, an Irish barrister of some eminence, a liberal man on all public subjects, remarked: "Retire! Who ever heard of such a thing? What can he do if he retires? Can any amusement of fox-hunting be so full of sport as man-hunting? Making ducks and drakes of other people's property, without personal risk, and being paid for it in addition! No, no! No lawyer likes to retire after he has once got into practice." If M. Murat was so delighted with the practice of "man-hunting," as an advocate in the United States, why did he leave it and his postmaster's situation? We suspect that he preferred the shorter process of "man-hunting" by means of musquet and sabre in Europe. We hope, sincerely, that he may not have the means of gratifying his wishes.

From the seventh letter, which gives a good general account of the existing laws in the Union, we extract the following sentence, in which there would be much good sense, supposing that all lawyers were philosophers.

"In a theocracy, the government is in the hands of priests; under a military despotism, in those of generals; in a country governed by laws, it is just that their interpreters and their ministers should be the governors. And we *are* well governed, and I look upon this influence of lawyers upon the government as the strongest guarantee of our liberties. And it is to that consummation that Europe will come, in proportion as liberty shall be better understood in that part of the world."

The eighth letter treats of the army, navy, and Indian population. Six thousand men is the total amount of the army, which

is not maintained for the purpose of keeping the populace in order, as is the fashion of most other countries, but for the purpose, principally, of garrisoning a frontier line of some thousand leagues, all round the Union. The artillery occupies the coasts of the Atlantic; the infantry those of the Gulf of Mexico, the frontiers of Missouri, and the Arkansas territory, chiefly as a security against the Indian tribes. The following is a very correct statement.

"The present army can only be considered as the skeleton or the nursery of a much larger one; it is destined, so to speak, to preserve the tradition of military usages and regulations. The officers of whom it is composed are, in general, very good, and in the event of a war, would be immediately promoted to superior grades, and distributed among the new regiments that would be raised. What would be most wanted would be good non-commissioned officers, which make the basis and the nerves of every good army.

"The real military strength of the United States consists, not in its army, but in its militia. Every citizen forms part of it up to an age which varies in the different states; for if the army belongs to the federal government, the militia depends entirely on the several states."

Whoever has travelled in the Union will instantly recognize the fidelity of the following picture.

"But it is the militia of the west and of the south which you should see. A regiment of *mounted riflemen*, that is to say, of men inured to all the fatigues and privations of the almost savage life of a first establishment, each of them mounted on a horse which he knows perfectly, armed with his trusty rifle, to which both he and his family have been indebted for many a dinner in time of need. These people laugh at every sort of fatigue; to them a campaign is a real party of pleasure. They are perfectly acquainted with the woods, and know how to find their way by the sun and the bark of the trees, following an enemy or a stag by the scent; in this they are aided by their dogs, for each of them has a dog with him. They wear no uniform; every one comes in the dress he wears in his daily occupation, which has been spun and woven by his wife, from the cotton which he has himself planted. A hat, made of palm-leaves plaited, covers a face which has been blackened by the smoke of the bivouac. An otter's skin, neatly folded and sewed together, contains his ammunition, his materials for kindling a fire, and his small allowance of tobacco. A knapsack behind the saddle carries provisions for himself and his horse. The animal is not more nice on that head than his master. A few handfuls of Indian corn per day content him; but in the evening, on arriving at the camp, he is unsaddled, unbridled, and with two of his feet tied together, is turned loose into the woods, where a rich grass quickly provides him with a frugal supper. Discipline is not very rigid with such a troop. No regular movements; every man makes war for himself, and as it were, instinctively. It is a hunting-party on a great scale; and yet

these are the troops which most distinguished themselves in the last war, and who repulsed the English at the battle of New-Orleans."

The philosopher who contemplates the result of this battle will rejoice over the result, not because those who won happened to be Americans or republicans, but because those who lost were *invaders.** After a just eulogium on the high state of maritime science and skill in the United States, the author states that in case of a war it might be difficult for them to find sailors. We have not much patience with the pugnacious disposition which leads M. Murat, like Captain Basil Hall, always to be calculating on wars, even when we recollect that it is their *métier;* but, notwithstanding, we pause to extract the following accurate remark:

Notwithstanding, there is one consideration which consoles me; and that is, that no war can be undertaken that is not sanctioned by the will of the majority. An unpopular war can never be undertaken by the United States, and if the people wish for war they will know how to carry it on."

With regard to the race of Red Indians, the author talks much good sense, and also some absurdities. We agree with him that it is not desirable that they should disappear by intermarriage with the whites, because the white race, being decidedly the finest, should be preserved free from an inferior intermixture. But the idea that a people who take little or no thought for the morrow should overpower the calculating and far-sighted whites, —should "come like clouds of Huns guided by another Attila to fall upon Washington as the Gauls did upon ancient Rome," is about as probable as that of the sapient politicians who prophesy that the whole western world must ultimately fall under the yoke of Russia. Natural causes are operating upon the Indians, and gradually they must disappear from the face of the earth, as many wild animals have done, who obstinately refuse to bend to the sway of civilization. The wolf was a savage, and the wolf disappeared from England. The dog being something more of a reasoner, accommodated himself to the new order of things, and he has remained. A remark has been made by those

---

* The following are two stanzas from a popular song, entitled "The Hunters of Kentucky."

"We raised a bank to hide our heads, not that we thought of dying,
But that we like to take a rest, unless the game be flying;
Behind it stood our little force, none wished it to be greater,
For every man was half a horse, and half an alligator.

"They did'nt let our patience tire, before they showed their faces,
We didn't choose to waste our fire, but snugly kept our places;
Until so near, we saw them wink, we thought it time to stop 'em,
It would have done you good, I think, to see Kentucky drop 'em."

who only look upon the Indians as inconvenient obstacles to civilization, that the deer and red men are alike, and invariably disappear from the clearings; they cannot thrive away from the shelter of the woods. Dobrizhoffer, the ancient Jesuit, makes the same remark on some of the Indian tribes of Paraguay. The sentimentalists, on the contrary, who regard the preservation of the Indians as paramount to every other consideration, would, if they could, turn out the whites from their cultivated lands recently occupied, and restore them to their original state of woodland hunting grounds. We say would if they could, but this must be understood in theory, for the practice would by its effects soon make them converts. The fact is, these sentimentalists are mostly the indwellers of cities, who, supplied with all that can make life desirable, get up sympathy for the Indians just as they would get up a play, or as the Highland Society, comfortably seated at dinner in well warmed rooms, recommends the use of the kilt to their poorer neighbours on the hill tops as a good old custom. The question is reducible to this. It is clearly understood, from the experience of ages, that the character of the white men and red men is so far dissimilar, that they cannot live on terms of equality while in a state of proximity. Which, then, shall remove—the whites who are many, and who have much valuable artificial property, or the Indians, who are few, and scarcely possess any property but what they carry about their persons? The Indians and sentimentalists reply, that the red men have the best right to remain, because they are the indigenous lords of the soil, and moreover, that the *reservations* of land scattered here and there amidst the territories of the whites have been preserved to them by specific laws; therefore it is cruel to turn them off. It is a pleasant thing to see the spirit of philanthropy existing, even though it be put forth in absurdities, for it is an evidence of the good that is in human nature, and a proof that the desire to do evil is rare when misery does not press; but the philanthropy has in this case degenerated into a blameable spirit of slander on the government of the United States, a spirit which has been much fomented by former governments in England for mischievous purposes. The opponents of the United States were accustomed to remark on the difference of treatment which the Indians of Canada have received at the hands of the English government, compared with what they have received from the government of the Union. It is very true, but the two nations have never yet been placed in the same condition. The English government, constantly ridden by a night-mare fear that the Americans would take Canada from them, have on all occasions sought to enlist the passions of the Indians on their

side, and to keep them at war with the Americans, by making them annual presents, especially of arms. It is a high crime, whoever may commit it, to excite the savage man to attack the civilized. The Americans have not imitated the example. They make no subsidiary presents, and promptly make war on the Indians in case of necessity, but, nationally speaking, without more of cruelty than is the result of all war.

The American government has ever treated the Indians with national good faith, has never broken a treaty with them. Yet still, cry the sentimentalists, they get possession of all their land. True; but is it by an unfair process? Let us analyze the character of the Indian, and we shall get a result.

The grand distinction between the red man and the white is, that the former, literally, or nearly literally, "takes no thought for the morrow." He is as devoted to the *dolce far niente* as ever was an Italian of easy means. He will not move from his lazy reclining posture until hunger compels him, and, after catching as much game as will satiate his hunger, he returns to it again. Work he will not; *that* his wife must do for him; and though poor in every physical sense, he is as haughty in spirit as though he possessed the whole world uncontrolled. Possessing almost inconceivable constancy of endurance, as regards physical suffering, he has no moral power over himself to prevent physical enjoyment from degenerating into brutality. To see alcohol and to place himself past thinking with it, are one and the same thing with him. Not even his pride and abhorrence of degradation can effect any restraint. If he could contrive it, he would remain drunk for ever. He can enjoy the produce of the labours of others, but as to working himself, he will not hear of it. He would like to have all the advantages which the white man possesses, but he will not pay the white man's price for them,—industry and foresight. The white man asks for an acre on which he can grow corn; the Indian asks for leagues as his hunting ground. The process whereby the hunting ground changes owners is very simple. The whites settle on the skirts of the Indian territories, and enclose their plantations, whereupon the wild animals take the alarm and become scarcer. While the crop is growing, the cultivator or squatter takes his rifle to kill deer. The Indian complains, and a death probably takes place on one side or the other, precisely on the same system as the skirmishes between poachers and gamekeepers in England.* The Indians then

* The following anecdote is taken from a newspaper of the Union, called the *Batavia Press*, August 30th, 1829.

"We have a story of an Indian being killed in the town of Le Roy on Thursday of

watch their opportunity, and perhaps massacre a white family or two. The relatives seek revenge, and slaughter perhaps a dozen Indians, whereupon the neighbouring tribes collect from all quarters, and a petty war commences, which gradually increases till the nation is obliged to take it up, and the Indians, as a matter of course, are beaten. They then undergo the fate of the conquered, that is to say, the conquerors seize their land and settle upon it; but in all cases they leave a *reservation* for the use and enjoyment of the Indians, immensely beyond their necessities. In some instances this space has been enough to breed sufficient game to support them, but at all events sufficient cattle. In these *reservations* their right of possession has been strictly respected, and in most cases an annual supply of provisions and necessaries has been afforded. Laws have been enacted to prevent them from selling their land by private contract to the whites, who have also been prohibited from selling them brandy, or even trafficking with them, except under protecting regulations. Every thing, in short, has been done, that *laws* could accomplish, on the part of the American government, to protect the Indians of the reservations from the encroachments of the American citizens. But even as poaching continues in England in spite of game laws, so the whites bordering on the reservations smuggle brandy amongst the Indians, who are nothing loth, and gradually they are stripped of everything they can alienate, and are left in

last week. The story is as follows:—An Indian of the Onondega tribe, we believe, came to the house of one Miller late at night; and after making some considerable noise at the door, finally succeeded in getting Miller up, who went to the door for the purpose of finding out the cause of so unseasonable a visit. On opening the door he discovered the Indian armed with a rifle and a large knife, who interrogated him as follows—'You name Miller?' The latter, mistrusting something in the wind, answered, 'No.' The Indian, it appears, was not satisfied, for he immediately replied, 'Me guess you lie little; me guess you name Miller; you hunt deer some; kill 'em some time; guess you kill 'em some Indian too.' Miller being totally unprepared for fight just then, assured him his name was not Miller; but that if he would go away peaceably, he would agree that Miller should meet him in a certain swamp on the Thursday following. With this assurance the Indian departed. On the day appointed Miller repaired to the swamp; but instead of entering it in the direction of the house he repaired to the opposite side; when near the centre, he discovered the Indian lying flat upon a log, watching, with his gun in his hand, the approach of Miller in the direction of the house, supposing he would come that way. At this time Miller stumbled, which caused some noise, on which the Indian sprung upon his feet and discharged his rifle at Miller, but without effect; Miller, like a true antagonist, gave it back again, and wounded the Indian; but the Indian not being disposed to fall, and Miller not willing to trust his red friend, worked another buttonhole in his side, and is then supposed to have secreted him, as Miller's arms and sleeves were covered with blood when he came out of the swamp. A great number of Indians from Tonawanta and elsewhere, have since been searching the swamp, but have not as yet been able to discover the body.

"It is supposed that the Indian had an old grudge against Miller, which he was disposed to settle before leaving for the west. It would have been better for him to have passed receipts and quit."

misery. They will not cultivate the earth for subsistence, and, like children, they will sell for present enjoyment the very provisions they have been supplied with by the government. No laws can provide against such an evil as this, and by degrees their numbers are lessened, because they have not the power of self-controul. The land is not divided amongst them, but merely held in common, and nothing is produced from it but what nature furnishes. In the reservations of the State of New York, a portion of the food of the Indians consists of the wild rice, which is indigenous. Brandy, and quarrels, and insufficient food, by slow process destroy their numbers; and it sometimes happens that half a dozen Indians become the sole occupiers of hundreds of thousands of acres. Yet their right is as religiously respected as if they were a great nation, until they choose to sell it. This is the case still in the State of New York. It has been said, indeed, that the government plays an insidious part, conniving at the injuries the white citizens inflict on the Indians for the sake of forcing them to a sale of their lands; but this appears to be without foundation, for when a number of squatters took possession of the gold-mines of the Cherokees in Georgia, a body of the United States troops were sent to drive them away. Ultimately, the Cherokees agreed to sell their land, and went across the Mississippi. Much abuse was showered on the government for this; but what could they do, when squabbles and murders were from time to time taking place between the uncivilized Indians and the almost as uncivilized border whites, who continually helped to demoralize each other? It was said that it was most cruel to drive the Cherokees away, just as they were becoming civilized. But what was their civilization? It was said that they had divided their lands and had made considerable progress in agriculture; but the fact was, that some of their chiefs, who were of half-white blood, had taken possession of the land, leaving the common Indians to their accustomed laziness and starvation, and the cultivation was carried on, not by the hands of Indians, but by those of negro slaves. The mass of the red men were as wretched in the Georgian reservations as in all others, but the idea of increasing civilization was constantly kept up for the benefit of a few interested persons. Let any man of common understanding reflect how constantly it is the case in all countries, that the ignorant mass are made the prey of designing leaders, and he will not find it difficult to credit this statement.

The advocates of the Cherokees stated, as a proof of the civilization of that tribe, that one of their number had actually invented a written alphabet for what, up to that time, had been a spoken language only, and that in that language a newspaper,

called the *Cherokee Phœnix*, was published weekly. What the sale might be, or who were the purchasers, we were not able to learn. But admitting the truth of all these statements, what do they amount to? If a tribe of gypsies in England were to invent an alphabet for their peculiar dialect, would it be a proof that they were a highly industrious and civilized race? Would the fact of their having a newspaper in an unknown tongue be a compensation for their collecting a crowd of vagabonds together, and then quarrelling and disturbing the public peace? Let us not be understood as wishing to advocate any cruelty or injustice towards the Indians. We regard them with pity, but we do not see how idle sentimentality is to relieve them. The border-line between them and the whites is ever sure to be the scene of contention and constant squabbles, which the laws of the Union cannot reach. The white inhabitants of the southern states settle their quarrels by duels; the Indians and squatters occasionally "rifle" one another at bush-fighting. It is the custom on the outskirts of civilization, and scenes of a similar nature take place on the reservations. Before the removal of the Cherokees from Georgia, they took it into their heads to attack a stage-coach which crossed their territory, and put the passengers in fear of their lives, though the road had long been in acknowledged use. It is affirmed that the whites purposely seek disputes with the Indians, knowing that it is a means of ultimately getting possession of their lands. That the white men may from interested motives commit unjust actions is nothing new, but the custom is no less ancient for the red men to entice them about them for the purpose of getting brandy; and amongst drunken people there is usually no want of an excuse for a quarrel. That any such interested feelings extend beyond individuals, we deny, and refer to the laws of the Union regarding Indian reservations as a proof. Nothing but making the Indians equal in character to the whites can remedy the evil, so long as they remain in the neighbourhood of each other. This is forbidden by their differing qualities. The whites are industrious, and conscious of superiority; the haughtiness of the Indians is only exceeded by their laziness. It is an acknowledged fact that the Indians, almost universally, are so addicted to the use of "fire-water," that they will sacrifice every consideration to obtain it. Clothes, weapons, children, wives, food, all are as nothing when compared with the accursed poison which steeps their senses in momentary delirium. Yet, notwithstanding this, they have never possessed sufficient industry to distil it for themselves. Surely this is a strong proof of their utter want of industrious energy. The French of Canada and Louisiana were accustomed to cohabit with Indian women, but this is rarely

the case with the descendants of the Saxon race, who invariably consider them as inferior to themselves, though superior to the negroes, who, however somewhat contest the point. The writer of this article was once amusing himself in an Indian reservation, shooting at a mark with the bow along with two boys whom he casually encountered. After a few shots, he asked one of the boys what tribe he belonged to? "Oneida," was the reply. "And you?" he asked of the other. "Me, sir," replied the urchin, who might be about ten years of age, "me, sir," drawing himself up,—"I am no Indian!" This was said in quite an offended tone. The writer looked at him again, and remarked that his woolly locks betrayed the one-third of African blood which had been added to that of the white.

Much pains have occasionally been taken by the government, to promote the education of the Indian chiefs in the colleges of the United States, in order thereby to operate upon their tribes. There is no want of natural capacity amongst them; they have the powers of oratory, can think and reason, and have vanity enough to excite them to action; but they have also an intensity of pride, which prompts them to do nothing, rather than submit to acknowledge any inferiority. One of the Indian chiefs went through his studies at the college with considerable *eclat*, and was received in the neighbouring families, as a visitor, upon apparently equal terms. He fell in love with the daughter of a respectable family, who was not altogether indifferent to him, and asked her in marriage. The lady's friends were astonished at his presumption, and refused his application with something of the kind of scorn which an English duke might use towards a tradesman or schoolmaster aspiring to the hand of his heiress. The haughty spirit of the Indian chief was aroused, and leaving the haunts of civilization he retired to his tribe. His tribe beheld him wearing the garb of the whites, and they asked, "Whence comes this degenerate red-skin, who wears not the garb of the forest?" Roused by the taunt, he threw away the trappings of civilization, and took to the mocassins, leggings, blanket, and rifle. Where is the power, where are the laws, which shall overcome this kind of prejudice? Laws may perchance prevent the white from "working a button-hole" in the body of an Indian, but they cannot force him to make an equal, an associate of him, or to receive him into his house; neither can they force the Indian to strip himself of his haughtiness, and reason like a philosopher on the matter, or to treat the whites *de puissance en puissance*. His philosophy is of that class of which Syphax says:—

> "'Tis pride, rank pride, and haughtiness of soul;
> I think the Romans call it stoicism."

Did the Indians possess a race of slaves to work for them, or were they provided with all they needed, abundant hunting grounds, and deprived of brandy, they would probably doze away their existences very comfortably, with the occasional interlude of a war with the neighbouring tribes. But they have no such slaves, and, as it is their fate to be extinguished, it is better that they should cross the Mississippi to quarrel amongst themselves, than remain amongst the whites to produce greater demoralization. It is useless to talk of saving, perforce, a nation which will not take the necessary pains for self-preservation. The talk of preserving a savage nation, separate in institutions, language, and manners, in the midst of a civilized one, appears to us too absurd to require serious refutation.

The invention of the Cherokee alphabet is certainly a remarkable circumstance; the inventor, however, was not a pure Indian, but a half-blood, called in Cherokee See-quah-yah, and in English, George Guess. Being lamed in war, and confined to his wig-wam, a cripple for life, he set himself seriously to reflect, whether the *talking leaf* of the whites was a gift of the Great Spirit, or only a human discovery. Having decided upon the latter, he set about the task of preparing signs for an alphabet. He first used painted figures of birds and beasts to express sounds. These he afterwards changed for simpler forms, at first two hundred in number, which he subsequently reduced to eighty-six. This is the alphabet made use of for the *Cherokee Phœnix*, a specimen of which is given in the late work of Mr. Ferrall. But the mere possession of the power of reading and writing is not civilization, although it is a step towards its acquirement.

M. Murat seems excessively afraid of what the Indians may do some day, to the injury of the United States, and gravely states, that it is possible some Napoleon may one day arise of the red race, who, taking possession of the Empire of Mexico, will stir up the whole of the Indians to make war on the Union, for the recovery of the province of Texas, which has caused so many disputes. This is a wild idea enough. It pre-supposes what never has happened, and is never likely to happen—union of purpose amongst the Indian tribes. Had they possessed the power of union, foreigners could never have gained a footing in their country. Friendly Indians did good service in behalf of the "fathers" in New England. Had Cortez found the Mexicans united, Montezuma would have retained his throne. Had not the Peruvian Incas quarrelled, even Pizarro might have been beaten off by that feeble people. The small number of gallant Aracauians, inhabiting the southern end of Chili, were a free and a united people, and they have remained unconquered even

to this day. Daily experience tells us that the Indians would, for the most part, rather fight with each other, than with the whites, and when they do fight with the whites, they are almost constantly beaten.

The province of Texas has become a cause of quarrel, or rather we should say of longing, to more nations than one, and if the descriptions of it be correct, it is a country to long for. The larger portion of the Southern States of the Union is too flat to be considered a beautiful country, though rich enough in products. But Texas is a region of hill and dale, of forest and grass land, of limestone rocks, and pure waters, in brooks, springs, and rivers, running over pebbly and sandy bottoms, with a fine climate and fertile soil. Wheat, oranges, and vines may be produced there, and consequently it is fit for breeding almost every kind of cattle. The origin of the disputes about this proviuce, we believe to be as follows:—A few scattered herdsmen bred cattle there prior to the revolution, and the cavalry of the King of Spain kept the hordes of Indians somewhat at bay during a constant war. When the revolution produced disorder, the Indians took advantage of the time, and regained possession of the land from which the Spaniards had driven them away. The red men said, "It is ours." The King of Spain said, "It is mine." The red men had certainly the prior claim; but the power of the Spanish king gained the possession. The government of the Republic of Mexico maintained that the possession reverted to them; but the red men, being strongest, drove away the cattle breeders, and kept the territory for a hunting ground. Under these circumstances, one of the governments which ruled Mexico during the period of changes, granted or sold to Mr. Austin, an enterprising speculator, a large tract of land in the province, for the purpose of establishing a colony of Americans, subject to the Mexican Republic. This was probably done from the feeling that the American hunters would be the best settlers to clear the province of the Indians, and it is understood that they were very successful in doing so. Under these circumstances, it was extremely natural that more of their countrymen should flock to them; in fact, the number of settlers has so much increased, that we believe there are now upwards of five thousand families from the Western States of the Union, who possess thriving properties in Texas. The speculative people of the Union then established a yearly caravan from Louisville and the neighbourhood, which carried on a profitable trade. The Mexican government, finding that this traffic brought no grist to their mill in the shape of custom-house duties, prohibited it, and ordered that in future no trade should be

carried on but by sea. The colonists paid no regard to the edict, knowing that there were no means of enforcing it; another law was then made, forbidding all further immigration from the United States, which is probably as little regarded. If the Mexican government attempts in any way to dispossess or coerce these people, they will most probably throw off the present nominal allegiance they pay to it, and set the military republic at defiance. The hope of an advantageous squatting ground will then induce the western hunters to flock there in still greater numbers, and in a short time ten thousand rifles will set at nought all the efforts of the beggarly guerilla cavalry which Mexico can furnish forth, with Indian allies to boot. The Mexicans are loud in their denunciations of this violation of their territory; but the squatters will not be made to understand without force wherein consists the crime of occupying land which was only lying waste. That the province of Texas is not an integral part of the Mexican Republic may be gathered from the fact, that there is extant a decree of the American Congress, determining that it shall be governed as a colony. As it was foreseen that, in time, Texas would become a source of annoyance, as Florida formerly was, attempts have been made, hitherto without success, to purchase it from the Mexican government. It is possible, that in the embarrassed state of their finances, some future government will accept the offered five millions of dollars, and the stumbling block will be removed.* It is very desirable that it should. As the case stands at present, the quarrel is not between the government of Mexico and the United States; but between the Mexican government and Mr. Austin's chartered colony, together with the squatters who have gathered round him. If the power of the Mexican government equalled the jealousy of the generality of the individuals composing it, there would be no restraint of morality to hinder them from ruining the whole of the colonists. This the latter are fully aware of, and they will, therefore, protect themselves with the strong hand and out-stretched arm, well accustomed to wield the long and heavy rifle of the western wilderness. If the province of Texas can maintain itself against the imperfect, because disunited, power of Mexico, it will become an independent community, and, after having become an independent community, it will be entitled to declare itself a member of the Union, if the Union be willing to fraternize with it.

* We remember being in one of the Southern American Republics, when an English loan, out of which forty per cent. had been peculated, arrived; which yet was accepted in the name of the state, and a still larger portion plundered, by a government which expired on the following day.

M. Murat's ninth letter gives a fair representation of the finances of the Union, and the general state of commerce, mingled with some remarks not evincing much philosophy. The tenth letter is a lively picture of the habits, manners, fine arts, and literature of the Americans, from which we may discover that their passions and prejudices are exceedingly like those of their elder brothers in England, always excepting

"The twice two thousand who are called the world."

Some of M. Murat's remarks on painting and sculpture are very just, and evince a deeper consideration of the subject than is generally shown by those who deal in the slang of connoisseurship. Here we must conclude. We recommend the work as well worthy of a place on the shelves of those who wish to understand the character of the Americans, which can only be done, either by visiting the country, or by comparing the different authors who have written on it, amongst whom, M. Murat, notwithstanding his defects, certainly stands high, when his powers of observation are not obscured by prejudice. His inferences are far inferior to his delineations, even where interest does not bias him. His moral perceptions are by no means acute; but when we consider the school in which his early youth was trained, we do not marvel much at this deficiency.

ART. II.—*Etudes Statistiques sur Rome et la partie occidentale des Etats Romains, contenant une description topographique, et des recherches sur la population, l'agriculture, les manufactures, le commerce, le gouvernement, et les etablissemens publics:* par le Comte de Tournon, Pair de France, Préfet de Rome de 1810 à 1814. 2 vols. 8vo. avec atlas. Paris. 1831.

2. *Memorie Storiche del Ministero, de'due Viaggi in Francia, e della Prigionia nel forte di S. Carlo in Fenestrelle,* del Cardinale Bartolomeo Pacca. Edizione terza. 2 vols. 8vo. Pesaro. 1830.

3. *Compendio Storico su' Pio VII., accompagnato da noti e documenti giustificativi.* 8vo. Milano. 1824.

4. *Moto-proprio della Santità di Nostro Signore Papa Leone XII.,* in data del 5 Ottobre, 1824. Roma. 24mo.

5. *Tablettes Romaines,* par Santo Domingo. Bruxelles. 1826. 18mo.

6. *Des Espérances et des Besoins de l'Italie,* par J. C. L. Simonde de Sismondi. 8vo. Paris. 1832.

We have been long wishing for the appearance of such a work as the one at the head of our list, a work that would tell us something more of the modern Romans, of their civil and social condition, of their laws and judicature, of their industry and commerce, than can be found in the hundred and one tours and travels which have been published in France or England since the beginning of our century. Hasty assertions, contemptuous vituperation, tales of banditti, and stories of gallantry, minute descriptions of church ceremonies, stale jokes about popes and cardinals, sneers at the Roman nobility, and denunciations of the lower classes in a lump;* besides a long interminable list of *virtù,* of statues and paintings, inscriptions and medals, intaglios and basso relievos,—all these we have had, *satis atque superque;* but to use the words of the author before us—

"No one, M. de Chateauvieux excepted, seems to have taken pains to inquire how and upon what the population of Rome and its territory subsists, what are the products of the country, and its internal economy. In order to save themselves the trouble of these researches, travellers hastily declare that Rome is built in the middle of a desert, and that the people are dependent on foreign industry for the supply of all their wants."—vol. i. p. 8.

Count de Tournon was prefect of the department of Rome, during the French occupation from 1810 to 1814. He is one of those highly intelligent and honourable men whom Napoleon sometimes sent as civil administrators of the countries he had invaded, as if to make some compensation for the evils of military conquest. When the French took possession of Rome in 1809, the Papal territory was reduced to the country between the Apennines and the sea—about one-third of the actual Roman states, with a population somewhat less than a million. The northern or Adriatic provinces had already been annexed to the kingdom of Italy, but the remaining territory was united to the French empire, of which it formed two departments; namely, that of Rome, and that of the Thrasymenian Lake, of which Perugia was the capital. The former and the

* The work No. 5. on our list affords a specimen of all this, and it contains nothing else.

most important, having Rome for its capital, included the whole country from the rivers Nera and Velino to the sea, and in length from the frontiers of Tuscany to those of Naples. It thus embraced all Latium, Sabina, and part of Etruria. Of this magnificent region and its 530,000 inhabitants, Count Tournon was chief administrator during four years. He then conceived the plan and collected the materials of the present work, having access to the best authorities and documents. No one had preceded him in the path of Roman statistics. With regard to his judgments, he professes in his introduction that he belongs

"neither to the enthusiastic school of which President Dupaty has been the leader, nor to the slanderous and sarcastic school of more modern date. I have attached myself solely to the *school of truth*, I have awarded censure or praise with measure, and always in an earnest and sincere tone; confident that by so doing, although I might not obtain many readers, I should secure the esteem of those who will peruse my work, which last is to me an ample compensation."—Introd. p. x.

Our author begins his work by an interesting topographical description of his department. It is a common error to suppose that the whole province of Rome is unhealthy and uncultivated. We ought first of all to distinguish between the low lands or *maremme*, which consist of a volcanic soil covered in many parts by the alluvions of the Tiber and other rivers, and by the decomposition of rank vegetable matter, and the high calcareous region formed by the secondary chains of the Apennines of Umbria and Sabina, and which extends to within a few miles of Rome, on the side of Tivoli and Palestrina, enjoying an atmosphere as healthy as that of any country. The *maremme* stretch like a broad belt along the coast of the Mediterranean, seldom extending deeper than five and twenty miles inland, and on several points considerably less. But this fatal belt is intersected in its breadth by two extensive volcanic ridges of high hills, the Cimino to the north, and the mounts Albanus and Algidus towards the south east. These two ridges, raised above the obnoxious plains, are watered by abundant springs, covered with luxuriant trees, and inhabited by an industrious and healthy population. On the slopes and valleys of the Cimino are the towns of Viterbo, Ronciglione, Vetralla, Caprarola, Vignanello, Bassano di Sutri, and Oriolo, surrounded by districts well cultivated, enlivened by villas and casinos of the wealthy proprietors. On the Alban Mount are the delightful residences of Frescati, Albano, Castel Gandolfo, Gensano, Marino; and on the opposite slope is the town of Velletri. Even within the flats of the pesti-

lential *maremme*, there are spots which, like Oases in the African desert, afford by their elevation, or other local accidents, comparative safety to the inhabitants, and cheer the traveller with the appearance of life and industry: such are La Tolfa, with its *allumiere*, or alum mines; the neighbouring colony of Monte Romano, first peopled by foundlings from the hospital at Rome; the pretty village of San Lorenzo Nuovo, built by Pius VI. (Braschi) at his own expense, to receive the inhabitants of the old village who were suffering by the malaria; the city of Montefiascone, built on an insulated hill in the midst of an unhealthy plain; the sea-port town of Civita Vecchia, (with its 10,000 inhabitants,) which is tolerably healthy, though the country outside of its walls is pestilential; the little town of Porto d' Anzio, built on a promontory jutting into the sea; and farther on, Mount Circello, with the village of Santa Felicita, rising in the very middle of the deadly Pomptine marshes. M. Tournon fully demonstrates that the state of the cultivation of the country is necessarily dependent, not on the greater or less industry of the inhabitants, but on the sanitary condition of the atmosphere.

"In the hilly region, all is life, bustle, and prosperity; the ground is covered successively by various productions, a multitude of trees spread their cool shade, the dwellings of the cultivators, scattered along the gentle slopes, appear in the centre of gardens and orchards; various branches of manufactures, paper-mills, iron-works, employ part of the population. In the plain below, on the contrary, solitude reigns; the ground rising in hillocks, or sinking in deep furrows, discloses here and there grey or reddish rocks, bared by the action of the violent rains; no trees are to be seen; the few inhabitants live huddled together in gloomy villages, few and far between, from whence they sally out to the works of the distant fields: the eye discovers for many miles no cottage, farm-house, or barn; you hear neither the barking of dogs, nor the crowing of the cock; during the winter and early part of the spring, you see, it is true, fields and pastures decked in all the luxury of spontaneous vegetation, numerous herds of cattle and flocks of sheep grazing on rich pasture; but as soon as the hot season arrives, a sudden change takes place in the appearance of the country, all vegetation ceases, first a yellow then a grey tinge covers the ground, the dusty soil looks as if calcined by fire, the cattle migrate to the mountains, and the inhabitants disperse. In short, we see clearly that wherever the inhabitants can without fear live in the midst of their lands, they pursue assiduously a varied and intelligent system of cultivation, and it is only where the malaria forces them away from their properties during four months of the year, that they have adopted the unequal alternative of tillage and pastures. This principle ought to be borne in mind by those who would judge of this country and its people dispassionately, and without prejudice."—vol. i. p. 18, 51, 65.

The town of Corneto, built in the unwholesome plains, a short distance north of Civita Vecchia, is the centre of one of the largest districts cultivated in the latter manner, or *grande culture*, as the French style it, and where this system can be best studied. The territory is fertile in wheat, oats, Indian corn, beans, and hemp; its pastures feed large herds of cattle, and the farmers are wealthy. During the healthy season, Corneto and its vicinity present a most animated scene; all the proprietors have returned home; the population amounts to above 3000 inhabitants, besides hundreds of workmen from the neighbouring hills, who come in bands, led by their *caporali*, to offer their labour; these spread themselves merrily along the wide fields, and give to this rich country the most lively aspect; but the stranger who has witnessed such scenes, were he to come again in the summer, would find, both in the fields and in the town, nothing but solitude, sickness, or death. Hardly any one remains, all who are able repair to the hills till after the autumnal rains; a few poor individuals only are found who will risk their lives to watch the property of the wealthy. Corneto and the neighbouring towns of Montalto and Canino are near the borders of Tuscany, and here M. Tournon makes another just observation on the prejudiced views of travellers and political writers. Whatever may be the deficiencies of the Papal administration, whatever we may think of the energies of the inhabitants, the extent of the unhealthy *maremme* is not confined to the Papal states; the malaria does not stop either northward on the Tuscan frontiers, nor southward on those of Naples. The fiend carries his devastations over the territories of half a dozen governments and principalities, from the Riviera of Genoa to the southern coast of Sicily. The government of Tuscany, for more than half a century past, has been confessedly the best in Italy, and especially prone to encourage agriculture, having freed it from the trammels of restrictions. The Tuscan people too are industrious and intelligent in their agricultural labours, there is no want of enterprize and capital among the proprietors; and yet the *maremma* of Tuscany is as extensive, as solitary, as unwholesome, as that of Rome. The traveller who proceeds along the sea coast, after crossing the rivers Fiora or Pescia, which form the boundary line between the two states, finds no change whatever in the appearance of the country; he may wander through the vast and desolate plains of Grosseto, Volterra, Orbetello, and Castiglione, he may proceed northward as far as Piombino, and beyond it to the very gates of Leghorn and Pisa, and still further into the territory of Lucca, and all the while never leave the malaria country.

"Is it fair then," asks our author, "to throw the blame exclusively

on the Papal government, or on the laziness of the Roman population? But the reason may be, that no traveller gives himself the trouble to go out of the beaten track in order to visit the maremme of Grosseto, and the valleys of the Ombrone and the Cecina, whilst the Roman lowlands, on the contrary, happen to lie straight on the way of every tourist, they border the high road to Rome, and he can observe them at his ease from the windows of his carriage."—p. 17.

Of the causes of the malaria our author speaks at some length. It seems certain that the infection proceeds partly from the nature of the soil and of the climate, and partly from the stagnant waters and the decomposition of vegetable matter. The former are inherent to the country, and must have existed in the oldest times, even where the low lands were cultivated and inhabited throughout. The position of the Roman plain between the sea and the Apennines exposes it to sudden alternations of southern hot winds and northern cold blasts from the mountains. The proximity of the sea, and the lakes and marshes, create abundant moisture, and the clouds, being stopped by the Apennine ridges, resolve themselves into copious rain. The extreme heat of the summer's day is often succeeded, if the wind is from the mountains, by a sudden chillness after sunset, when the vapours, pumped by the action of the sun, fall to the ground in heavy dew; exposure to the evening air is then dangerous, and often fatal. If the wind is from the south or *scirocco*, the air becomes suffocating, the perspiration profuse and incessant, and the nights are as sultry as the days; the body is weakened, and rendered incapable of exertion. Again, the Mediterranean, being a tideless sea, does not afford the means of refreshing and renovating the air of the plains which border on the coast, and of clearing the waters of the rivers—a very important consideration, which we have not seen noticed by any one. The proximity of stagnant waters is not the sole cause of the unhealthiness of the air; for the dry dusty plain which immediately surrounds Rome is as unhealthy as the marshes of Ostia and Macarese, near the mouths of the Tiber. Our author discards the supposition that the latter pools of stagnant waters, or the still more distant Pomptine marshes, divided as the latter are from Rome by the ridge of Mount Albano, can have any material influence on the atmosphere of the capital and the country around it. He grants, of course, that the marshes and stagnant pools are causes of malaria to the neighbouring lands; but he thinks they are not the *only causes*, and that the nature of the soil itself is accountable for something in it. He observes that the unhealthy region is of volcanic formation, containing a vast number of hydro-sulphurous or hydro-carbonic springs, and that from out a thousand

places emanations of carbonic or azot issue. He supposes that the volcanic strata, acted upon by the rays of the sun, emit quantities of deleterious gas, which affect the vital principles of the human frame, and being assisted by the chillness of the night, may give rise to attacks of fever. The late ingenious geologist, Brocchi, it is true, in his analysis of the air taken outside of the Roman walls, did not discover any of these emanations; but "is it not well known that there are elements which baffle the researches of chemistry, and that, for instance, we cannot by analysis discover any difference between the atmosphere of a crowded theatre and that of the best ventilated apartment?"

But whatever may have been the original causes of the insalubriousness of the Roman plains, there can be no doubt that the thinness and poverty of the population,—the overflowing in several places of the waters of lakes, canals, and streams,—the preference given to pasture over tillage, and the putrefaction of vegetable and animal substances, have fearfully aggravated the evil. Whence and how did the depopulation of the Campagna proceed? In a document quoted by Dureau de la Malle from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and dating of the year 278 of Rome, the population of the city and its colonies is stated at 195,000 citizens, as many women, 32,500 free strangers, and 17,000 slaves; in all, about 440,000 persons inhabiting the Latium, or country between the Tiber, the Anio, the Montes Lepini, and the sea,—not one third of the space included in the present province or department of Rome, as the whole right bank of the Tiber, or Etruria, and the mountains of Sabina and Umbria, were still independent.* The whole of the fourth century after the foundation of the city was spent in reducing the latter populations, which fact shows that they must have been at least as numerous as those of Rome. But in the fifth century the face of affairs changed; Rome, by the taking of Vulsinii and the overthrow of the Etruscan and Umbrian confederacy, forced a passage towards North Italy; whilst in the south she conquered Sicily from the Carthaginians. Then the male population of Rome became engaged in distant wars, and the cultivation of the country was abandoned to slaves;† the patri-

* There can be no doubt that the population of the Latium had been much greater before the Romans conquered it, when the Volsci alone had twenty-three towns, most of which were afterwards destroyed by their conquerors, in the single district between the Montes Lepini and the sea. Some of these were afterwards rebuilt by colonies sent from Rome, and were in their turn destroyed during the civil wars of the republic, or at the fall of the empire. Sylla had a great share in the second work of destruction. Ardea, Lanuvium, Circeii, Ostia, as well as Veii, Falerii, and others, have been thus repeatedly ruined.

† The number of slaves, owing to the gigantic and exterminating wars waged by Rome, increased to such a degree that their value fell from 56*l.* to the price of a measure of wheat per head!

cians, the successful generals, and the enriched pro-consuls, having accumulated properties in large masses, turned fields into large parks and pasture grounds.* The soil, given up to a spontaneous vegetation, developed and increased deleterious emanations; the Pomptine marshes and other lowlands, the towns of which had been ruined by the Romans, became overflowed through the neglect of the drains, and we begin to find the unhealthiness of particular spots mentioned by writers. Strabo designates as such Ardea, Setia, Anxur, and Circeii; Cicero complains of the fevers that afflicted the plains of Rome; Livy speaks of the Roman soldiers encamped in the pestilential barren grounds outside of the town, and Horace says of the month of August, *adducit febres, ac testamenta resignat.* The civil wars and proscriptions of Marius and Sylla, and of the triumvirates, must have greatly contributed to this, by reducing the population with frightful rapidity. Towns disappeared; the fields of Latium and Etruria were left to slaves and soldiers; whilst the people of Rome were supplied with distributions of corn from the granaries of Africa and Sicily.

The subject of malaria has been much discussed of late years by Brocchi, Dr. Macculloch, and others;† we shall abstain, therefore, from following M. Tournon in all his details, in which, however, the reader will find much that is new, accompanied by sound and sober judgment. The miasmata of the malaria seem to be of a dense heavy nature, seldom rising very high above the ground unless wafted by the winds. Walls seem to check their advance. The paving of streets and roads likewise prevents their exhalation. Fires dispel them. If one could transplant at once a dense population into a considerable village, sheltered as much as possible from the south winds, with houses built close together,

---

* *Propter avaritiam, contra leges ex segetibus fecit prata*, says Varro, speaking of some overgrown proprietor. And the number of proprietors became so small that in Cicero's time there were not 2,000 citizens who were freeholders, *qui rem haberent. Latifundia perdidere Italiam*, is the memorable expression of Pliny.

† See an article on Malaria in the Edinburgh Review, No. 72, February, 1822. In the number for November last of the *Nuovo Giornale de' Letterati*, published at Pisa, we find an account of some interesting experiments lately instituted in Tuscany by MM. Savi and Passerini, professors of natural history and chemistry in the University of Pisa, on the noxious qualities of some plants supposed to be a source of malaria. The results of these we shall here briefly state.

The *chara*, a genus of plants which grows very plentifully in the marshes, exhales, especially during summer, a fetid smell, similar to that of the marshes themselves. This has led some to suspect that these plants, during their growth, decay, and decomposition, might be the cause of the malaria. To clear up this doubt, MM. Savi and Passerini undertook a series of observations on, and analyses of, the more common species, the *chara vulgaris* and the *chara flexibilis*.

They found these plants covered with an external crust of carbonate of lime, the quantity of which, always considerable, diminishes successively and gradually during the four months of May, June, July and August, which are precisely those in which

streets narrow and paved, and the ground around being previously cleared and planted into gardens, with wholesome water, and sufficient means of sustenance, and they were to follow the common precautionary rules, such as not to sleep on the ground, not to go out fasting in the morning, shut their shutters carefully at night, and light a fire, and live on temperate but nourishing diet, such a colony in the midst of the Campagna might succeed. But the undertaking of colonizing the maremma on such a system is too gigantic to be carried into effect. Pius VII. as well as his predecessors, made some attempts, but to no purpose.

The whole surface of the province or department of Rome M. Tournon states to be about 6,000 square miles, of which the healthy portions, where constant cultivation is practised, occupy 4,600; while the unwholesome plains, subject to the *grande culture*, or unequal alternation of crops, pasture, and fallows, fill up the remaining 1,400. Here we have, then, the extent of the evil, and limits to future exaggeration.

There is another important topic connected with the above, upon which we apprehend there exists a considerable degree of misconception; we mean the reported gradual progress of the malaria of late years within the city of Rome. By looking at the map, we shall find that, wherever the houses are few and far

---

the influence of the malaria is most strongly felt. Among the other elements of the *chara* they detected also a fat volatile substance, hitherto unnoticed, which, containing azot, has an analogy with animal substances, and produces the fetid smell which gave rise to these researches. They named this substance *puterine*, from the vulgar name of *putera*, which the Italians give to the plant.

After examining the *chara* in its living and perfect state, they submitted it to putrefaction by steeping it in water. Decomposition began to show itself very soon. Acetic acid was formed, united with carbonate of lime, and disengaged the carbonic acid, which, rising into the atmosphere, produced a scum over the surface of the water. The smell of the plant began to exhale at the same time so powerfully as to cause serious accidents and violent head-ache to the persons exposed to it, even at a great distance. By degrees the plant assumed a dark colour, became soft and soapy, and was finally reduced to a blackish mixture, formed of fragments of woody fibres and of very thin coal, unctuous to the touch, and with an intolerable stench. In the last stage of putrefaction, the water in which the plant had been steeped became stinking, blackish and mucilaginous; on its surface was formed a dark pellicle, sprinkled with yellowish stains, reflecting in some points the colours of the rainbow, and emiting a disagreeable odour; when exposed to the action of fire it yielded azotic productions. The same experiments, carried on with covered vessels, under the action of solar heat, gave the same results. Repeated upon the *chara* of brackish waters, the saline principle of which is so powerful as to destroy all other plants, the observations presented the same phenomena, but with a greater degree of intensity.

MM. Savi and Passerini think themselves entitled to conclude, from these repeated experiments, that the *puterine*, or fetid principle of the genus *chara*, if not the only and general cause of the malaria, is, at least, one of the most powerful causes of its production in Italy. This mischievous principle, the odour of which is the same with that of marshy exhalations, extends its influence with still greater effect, whenever the diminution or evaporation of the waters leaves the plants uncovered, and by its volatility, it escapes, and is kept suspended in the atmosphere.

between, and the ground is mainly covered with gardens and fields, or ruins, the malaria is felt during the summer months, though not in the same degree as in the open country outside of the walls. Now this is the condition of the greater part of ancient Rome, of all the districts to the east and south of the Quirinal and the Capitol, with the exception of some streets that extend towards Santa Maria Maggiore and Campo Vaccino. Five of the seven hills are, therefore, either totally or partially unhealthy; this was the case, we remember, thirty years ago, and, we believe, long before that epoch, as it was not talked of as any thing new. But it is said that the malaria has penetrated "through the Porta del Popolo, and extended along the Pincian Hill by the church of La Trinita de' Monti, and thus round the foot of the Quirinal and Viminal hills to the church of Santa Maria Maggiore." The upper part of the Pincian hill, which is entirely covered with villas and gardens, we remember was always considered unhealthy, as well as the further end of the road to Porta Pia and from the baths of Dioclesian, down to Porta San Lorenzo. Likewise we are told that "it reaches to the church of San Pietro in Vincoli, diverging towards the Campo Vaccino, and proceeding onward to the east of the Colosseum to St. John Lateran," &c. But all these districts can hardly be called inhabited; there are only a few houses and churches, and convents here and there, and the rest is gardens, villas, vineyards, fields, and ruins. To the best of our recollection they were all considered unhealthy in the summer months, as we have said, thirty years since, although a few individuals, chiefly monks, contrived to live there all the year round. We can say the same of the extensive district beyond the Palatine and Aventine to the gates of St. Sebastian and St. Paul's; they were decidedly bad; but then they are deserted, and covered with fields. One might there fancy oneself in the open country. On the other side of the Tiber, the Lungara, and the slope of the Janiculum above it, the seat of the Villa Corsini, we remember also as unhealthy. We see nothing new or particularly alarming, therefore, in these late reports. *Modern Rome*, which extends from the Quirinal and the Capitol to the banks of the Tiber, is sufficiently healthy, at least as far as the malaria is concerned. There are unhealthy seasons at Rome, as well as in other cities, in particular years, when epidemic fevers spread through the thickest inhabited districts; but this is very different from the gradual progress of the malaria.

One question, however, we are enabled to set definitively at rest; and that is the supposed decrease of the population of Rome. That population has been rapidly *increasing* ever since

the peace. Intolerable misery, brought on by violent convulsions and foreign invasion, and the dispersion of its government and court, did at various times fearfully reduce its numbers. The earliest census we possess since the fall of the western empire, after the ravages of barbarians, and the subsequent attacks of Normans and Saracens, is that of 1198, under Innocent III.; the population was then only 35,000. The removal of the Papal See to Avignon reduced it so low as 17,000!* It was then, indeed, that some prophets of woe might have announced the approaching annihilation of the eternal city! Viterbo and Tivoli were then able to rival and cope with the former mistress of the world! The return of the Papal court, however, from Avignon, in 1377, was followed by an increase, which continued till the time of Leo X. when we find the numbers 60,000. But the storming and pillage of Rome by Bourbon's army, in 1527, again reduced the population to 33,000. Afterwards it began to recover, especially under Sixtus V.; who having cleared the country of banditti, and checked feudal oppression, by a severe but equal justice to all, restored confidence and security, encouraged industry, and deserved the title of "Restorer of the public peace." Since his reign the population kept steadily increasing until the beginning of the last century, when it had risen to 138,000; having quadrupled in 150 years. In 1730 it was 145,000; in 1750, 157,000; and in 1775 it rose to 165,000; the highest point it has ever reached in modern times. It was 164,586 in 1795, just previous to the first French revolutionary invasion. The calamities of the following years, the depreciation of the paper money, which had been issued with prodigal improvidence by Pius VI., the unheard of exactions of the French generals, by draining the treasury, the clergy, and the nobility of all their disposable wealth, produced a lamentable state of misery among the lower classes, which was further increased by the entrance of the French army in 1798, the violent removal of Pius VI., the dispersion of his court and clergy, the plunder and confiscation of public and private property, and the contributions and other charges imposed upon the "Roman republic" by its French allies.† To these may be added, revolts in the province or Campagna, and the devastations which followed, and in which several towns, such as Terracina, Frosinone, Ferentino, Ronciglione, Viterbo, &c. were sacked and partly destroyed. In 1800 we find the population of Rome reduced to 153,000; and the consequences of these calamities continuing

* See the Abate Cancellieri's learned inquiries on the subject.
† See Botta, Book XIII.

to operate gradually, but not less surely, in the following years, it became in 1805 still further reduced to 135,000, being *a decrease of about* 30,000, *or nearly one-fifth, in the course of ten years, from* 1795 to 1805. At the latter period the Papal court had returned; Pius VII. filled the Pontifical throne; but the country was impoverished, the Papal state deprived of its northern provinces, the wounds inflicted in the preceding years were too deep to be healed, and confidence in the future was not restored. Then came the second French invasion in 1808, and another violent removal of the Papal court and clergy in 1809, when a number of families were deprived of their means of support; the public establishments and charities then became bankrupt, and thirty thousand persons were placed on the poor lists by their respective curates, and reported to the French consulta or provisional government as requiring immediate assistance!* No wonder if the population continued to decrease; and we find it in 1810 stated at 123,000, being a further falling off of 12,000 in five years, since 1805. This was the true malaria that afflicted Rome! During the four years of the French administration, the population remained nearly stationary, owing to the especial care of the local authorities in providing employment and new resources for the lower classes, and the exertions of benevolent and enlightened men like Tournon, Degerando, and others, who, assisted by the native nobility, mitigated as much as they could the calamities and distress in which the ambition and violence of their ruler had involved an unoffending country, whilst they reformed abuses and effected improvements in the old institutions. But the restoration of Pius VII. and of the central government in 1814 soon produced its wonted effect on the population, which rose next year to above 128,000; it increased to 135,000 in 1820; and in 1830 it amounted to 147,385. See Tournon's Statistical Tables, vol. i. p. 238-42. The census of last year, 1831, gives a further increase, the numbers being 150,666.

The above authentic statements, we conceive, will set at rest the question about the pretended progressive decrease of the Roman population, and its causes. The populousness and comparative prosperity of modern Rome have been ever closely dependent on the residence and independence of its government. Misery and the despondency resulting from it are fearful auxilia-

* Tournon, vol. ii. p. 136. By a severe scrutiny the list of *real paupers* was reduced one-half, or 15000; still an alarming amount in a population of 123,000. Tournon, as an honourable man, does not conceal the origin of the distresses of Rome; he speaks plainly of the effects of foreign invasion, and especially of that of 1798, which was the most lawless and most fatal to the country.

ries to the malaria fever. A doubt here arises, whether in the event of the permanent removal or suppression of the papal government, which we do not foresee imminent, but which may take place at some future time, the population of Rome would not go on decreasing, until being in its enfeebled state acted upon more and more powerfully by the malaria, it would at last dwindle into nothing, and future travellers, who came to visit the remains of Rome, would find the "Eternal City" as solitary and as desolate as the sites of Babylon or Persepolis. We cannot fairly judge of the effect of a permanent removal of the papal government on the population of the city by the experiment made under Napoleon. It was of too short a duration. The hope of an improvement, or of another change, sustained the drooping spirits of many a family, who contrived to live upon the savings of their former fortune. But in the course of years these hopes would have become fainter, and at last have vanished altogether. Future administrators also would not perhaps have proceeded with the same charitable zeal in propping up the resources and means of subsistence of the population. In short, we think that had Rome continued till now in the condition of a provincial town, its numbers would have been reduced lower than they were in 1814. Still we believe, that with a wise and orderly local administration it would not have fallen below a certain mark, say 70 or 80,000, being the population of several second rate Italian cities, not seats of government, such as Bologna, and Turin and Florence under the French. Rome is the centre of a large agricultural country, extending from the frontiers of Tuscany to those of Naples, and from the sea to the mountains of Umbria, in all which there is not a town that could for a moment dispute its precedence. The condition of the country is very different now from what it was when the popes left Rome for Avignon six centuries ago. The great landed proprietors, including a numerous patrician class and the wealthy farmers, would still reside at Rome, as the unhealthy state of the Campagna must necessarily prevent them from living in the country. The Roman nobility would not all desert their splendid palaces, and galleries, and villas, especially if they should derive an increased importance from the absence of an ecclesiastical government. The markets of Rome would still regulate the prices of the whole province. If cultivation were to improve, colonists and speculators would produce an increase. Several manufactures are established at Rome for the supply of the population of the town and country, and have considerably improved of late years.* Rome is the centre of a

* M. Tournon has dedicated the third book of his work to the commerce and manufactures of Rome. He observes at the beginning, that most travellers, including

considerable commerce, both of exportation and importation, through the ports of Fiumicino, Civita Vecchia and Porto d'Anzio, and with the interior of the country as far as the Adriatic. Its numerous churches and collegiate establishments would maintain a proportionate secular clergy. It would still be the University, the centre of professional studies, for the whole portion of its territory between the Apennines and the Mediterranean. It would be the resort of artists and amateurs from all parts of the world. It stands on the high road to Naples, the great and only channel of land communication with the rich kingdom of the two Sicilies. Unless, therefore, the removal of the papal court were attended by foreign oppression, violence and spoliation, we think that even if deprived of the seat of government, it might maintain itself as a city of considerable importance. But we confess, that we can hardly conceive any future political arrangements taking place in Italy by which Rome would be left a mere provincial town.

The tables of births and deaths give occasion to some interesting remarks by our author. The births keep pace with the increase or decrease of the population, whilst there is an extraordinary fluctuation in the number of deaths. Again, the sum total of deaths in a given number of years is much greater than that of the births, and yet the population, instead of decreasing, is found to have increased at the end. Several causes account for these anomalies. The population of Rome is recruited every year by provincials and other strangers, who come either to study or seek for employment. Again, a number of ecclesiastics, both secular and regular, resort thither from different parts of Italy, when the papal government resides at Rome. The fluctuations in the deaths are accounted for, partly by the extraordinary mortality occasioned in some years by epidemics, aggravated by peculiar distress in consequence of war and revolution, and partly by the fact that many workmen from the whole province who are taken ill with the summer fever, whilst reaping in the Campagna, come to die in the hospitals of Rome.* Births are to the population

M. Bonstetten, have limited the industry of the Romans to the manufacture of beads, rosaries, and agnus dei, relics and indulgences. The wit of all this has become stale now. Manufactures of common linen cloth, of woollens which employ 2000 workmen, of silk, leather, paper, iron founderies and forges, common potteries, &c. exist at Rome and in the country round. There were, in 1813, 682 factories and workshops at Rome. The manufactures, says M. Tournon, were much indebted to the Cardinals Lante and Ruffo, while they were treasurers. The arts of engraving, mosaic, scagliola, besides sculpture and painting, form a very essential branch of Roman industry.

* In 1795 there were 6,378 deaths, in 1800 they had increased to 8,457, in 1803 to 9,269, and in 1804 to 11,792. We now understand the mistake we noticed in Simond's Travels, No. III. of this Review. The last figure in the last number was left out, and thus the deaths of 1804 appeared to be only 1,179. Again, Simond stated

on an average as 1 to 30, whilst deaths fluctuate between 1 to 30 and 1 to 20. It ought to be observed, however, that in years of peace and of regular seasons the disproportion is by no means so great, although there is generally an excess of deaths over births. In 1831 the births were 4,725 or as 1 to 32, while the deaths were 5,100 or as 1 to 29½.

M. Tournon's second book is entirely devoted to Roman agriculture, of which he gives an ample and interesting description. The ground had been already trodden by M. Lullin de Chateauvieux in his "Lettres ecrites d'Italie en 1812 et 1813;"* but our author enters into greater details, having had the advantage of a much longer residence and of the means of information afforded by his official situation. He confirms, however, M. Chateauvieux's views on the subject: "the four years I spent in perambulating the country in every direction have enabled me to confirm his judgment. The system of cultivation practised in the plains is necessarily dependent on two conditions, the nature of the soil itself, and the number and sanitary state of the cultivators." In the 1,400 square miles, of which the unhealthy plains consist, there is a permanent population of 15,000 persons only!

The following is the *cadastro* or survey of the different soils capable of production in the province of Rome, as taken by the able engineer Marini, Marquis of Vacone.

Arable land, susceptible of producing corn . .	242,000 rubbj†
Permanent pastures, meadows, hay fields . . .	162,000
Vineyards	14,600
Orchards and gardens	1,400
Forests, chesnut plantations, copses	170,000
	590,000 rubbj

Of the 242,000 rubbj of arable land, 82,000 are in the healthy districts, and 160,000 in the lowlands. The latter are sown for crops every fourth or fifth year, except a few superior soils where the grain returns from 12 to 15, and which are laid alternately in crops and fallows. During the three or four years intervening, the ground is left to spontaneous vegetation, and after the au-

that in 1808 only 243 were admitted into the hospitals, and in 1818, 2,992. But the mistake originated in confounding the number of *fever patients* within the hospitals at the same time, with the total number admitted successively during the season. The former in common years fluctuates between 200 and 600; but rises at times to 1000, and even 2,000, whilst the total number of fever patients admitted even in the most favourable summer is seldom so low as 3000. This is another instance of the almost unavoidable inadvertencies of travel writers. About one fourth of the patients die in the hospitals, and another fourth become invalids for life.

* The Edinburgh Review, No. LV., March, 1817, noticed Chateauvieux's work at full length, and an English translation of it, by Dr. Rigby, appeared subsequently.

† A Roman rubbio is about four English acres.

tumnal rains it becomes covered with grass of the most luxuriant growth, which affords a rich pasture to the numerous herds of cattle that constitute the principal wealth of the country. In fact, corn crops are only considered as an accessory, and pasture is the main produce of the fields. There are about 100,000 head of cattle, 4,000 buffaloes, and 700,000 sheep grazing in these plains. M. Tournon gives a detailed calculation of the expenses and risks attending tillage and the rearing of crops, which serves to explain the preference given by the farmers to the *pastorizia* or grazing system, which, assisted as it is by the facility of migration of the cattle to the neighbouring mountains during the dry season, affords surer though lower profits, with hardly any trouble or risk. The farmers who rent these vast estates are called *mercanti di campagna;* they are farmers, merchants, and bankers at once; they live in large hotels at Rome, where they have their counting-houses, and employ numerous agents, clerks, messengers, &c. The smallest of these farms requires an advance of 50,000 francs, and the largest from five to six hundred thousand. The whole of the Roman lowlands from Bolsena to Terracina are in the hands of about 150 of these farmers, of whom one-third, and these the richest, reside at Rome.

We shall not follow M. Tournon in his animated description of the farm of Campomorto, the same that M. Chateauvieux visited in his travels. But the following brief statistics of that estate are worth inserting, as they differ materially from those given by the latter. It consists of 4,309 rubbj, 1000 of which is arable land, 1,100 permanent pasture or meadows, and 2,200 forest. The arable land is divided into four lots, which are subject each to a different rotation of crops and fallows, according to the respective nature of the soil. One wheat crop is succeeded by two or three years fallows; or the wheat crop is followed by oats and beans; or lastly, after the oats harvest in the second year, the ground is sown with Indian corn or beans, after which it is left fallow for one year, and then sown with wheat again. The wheat crop returns in general nine for one, the other grains and beans about fifteen. The cultivation of the farm requires 65 ploughs and 320 oxen, 250 bullocks are kept fattening for the market, besides about 800 cows and calves, and about 100 buffaloes. 100 horses are required for the cattle drivers and servants of the farm, who are always mounted, as well as for the carts, &c., and 250 mares and colts to keep up that number. 2000 sheep graze on the farm. The agents and servants permanently employed, either on the farm or at Rome, amount to 180. About 400 labourers are engaged from October to June, and about 800 in harvest time. The former are paid from one franc

and a half to two francs a day, the latter in general about two francs. They come chiefly from the mountains of Sabina and the Abruzzi. The rent paid to the Chapter of St. Peters, who are the proprietors, is 120,000 francs.* The whole produce of the farm is valued at 355,000 francs.

"But the expenses attending this immense establishment swallow up almost the whole of this sum, and the real profits of the farmer consist in his commercial and banking operations, which he is enabled to carry on with the produce of his farm. In observing attentively the machinery of this vast establishment, the order and regularity of movement of its different parts, I felt a sentiment of sincere esteem for the man who can direct and give life to the whole. Indeed a philosophical stranger cannot grudge himself a few days passed either at Campomorto or at Santa Maria di Galera or Castel di Guido, for he will have to add to his other Roman recollections that of the frank and open hospitality and of the instructive conversation of the wealthy and intelligent farmers, and the kindness and unaffected urbanity of such men as MM. Truzzi, Cleter, Giorgi, Valentini, Vanni, will afford him much useful information, and all the luxuries of social life in the midst of a desert."—pp. 325, 326.

The Pomptine marshes, which have been partly recovered from the water, belong to the Apostolic Chamber, but Pius VI. gave them in *enfiteusi*, or perpetual leases, to a few families, who do not pay altogether 100,000 francs rent for about 40,000 acres of land. The Duke Braschi, the banker Torlonia, the Duke Fiano, the Marquis Massimi, and the family of Rapini, the engineer who directed the works, are the principal lessees. Had the allotments been smaller, and on common lease terms, the ground would have been better cultivated, the works would have been kept in better preservation, and the government would have derived a much greater benefit. Of the 40,000 acres either totally or partially drained, 7000 are capable of tillage, and the rest is fit for rice, Indian corn, or meadows, besides copse and forest.

M. Tournon, in speaking of the physical state of the present population of the Roman province, distinguishes it into four races. The first, who inhabit the mounts Albani and the country of the Volscians, are tall, their limbs vigorous but flexible, their features regular, large dark eyes, and an expression somewhat haughty yet pleasing. 2d. The steep arid mountains of Alatri and Veroli are inhabited by a race not so tall as the former, with strong hardy limbs, features regular, but having a wild expression, which is increased by their eyebrows almost

* M. Chateauvieux's calculations are much lower; see Edinburgh Review, No. LV. We consider M. Tournon as the better authority of the two; in fact he gives a complete balance sheet, on the authority of MM. Truzzi, who rented the farm.

meeting together. M. Tournon sees in them the descendants of the fierce Hernici. 3d. The inhabitants of the Sabine mountains have a milder expression, and thick curly hair. Lastly, in the neighbourhood of Corneto and north of mount Cimino, a race, tall, elegantly-formed, of regular features, and a pleasing mild expression, reminds our author of the old Hetrusci. This district produces the handsomest men in the whole province. The plains, as well as the city of Rome, exhibit no traces of a distinct population, but appear to be a mixture of all the races in Europe. Even among the Transteverini, fine men as they generally are, M. Tournon has sought in vain for marks of that ancient descent which has been attributed to them. At Rome the women have a much greater share of beauty than the men, but those of the poorer classes lose their attractions at a comparatively early age.

The following is extracted from the *Saggio di Statistica degli Stati Pontificj*, a recent work published in numbers by M. Gabriele Calindri.

"Population of the Papal States, the Legations included, 2,592,329.
"Classification of this population according to their civil state.

Single men, adults	239,177
Single women, ditto	234,145
Married of both sexes . . .	913,586
Widowers	43,616
Widows	34,126
Male children	521,185
Female, ditto	553,012
Monks or regular clergy . .	10,598
Priests or secular, ditto . . .	34,600
Nuns	8,284

Of the above 1,176,178 are landed proprietors, farmers, or labourers, with their families; 691,803 tradespeople or mechanics; 24,908 follow the liberal professions; 21,508 are soldiers or seamen; 53,432 belong to the clergy of both sexes; and 217,638 are infants.

The fourth book of M. Tournon's work treats of the Papal government, and of its judicial and financial administration, subjects curious in themselves, and generally but little known.

The Papal government is perhaps the most complicated in modern times. The Pope unites in his person three different offices; 1st, that of Supreme Pontiff, or Head of the Catholic Church and hierarchy; 2d, that of Bishop of Rome; 3d, that of temporal sovereign of the Roman or Papal States. Few writers have taken the trouble of distinguishing between these different attributes, and thus the machinery of the Papal govern-

ment has often been misunderstood. The Consistory, or council of the Cardinals, assists him both in his spiritual and temporal capacities, but the immediate administration of the one is confided to different persons from that of the other, although the agents of one power often come in contact with those of another, so that the line is somewhat difficult to trace.

The ministers of the Pontiff in his spiritual capacity are, 1st, the Cardinal Great Penitentiary, who decides on cases of conscience, with the assistance of several prelates; 2d, the Cardinal Sommista, who presides at the tribunal of the Apostolic Chancery, and whose business it is to give his opinion on matters of dogma or discipline, and to affix the seals to and expedite the bulls of the Pope; 3d, the Cardinal Pro-Datario, who, with a numerous department of subordinate officers, decides all affairs concerning livings and other temporalities of the clergy, also those concerning dispensations or licenses for marriages between relations, &c. This office has lost much of its importance, since the catholic states have suppressed or secularized most of the church temporalities. In former times the sums paid to the Datario by foreign countries for briefs, bulls, dispensations, licenses, &c. amounted to more than two millions of scudi per annum (nearly half a million sterling); 4th, the Cardinal Segretario de' Brevi has the charge of the correspondence of the Pope concerning ecclesiastical matters; he expedites the briefs *ad principes* to foreign sovereigns, &c.; 5th, lastly, the Pope's Auditor *(Uditor Santissimo,)* a prelate, who is the examiner, reviser, and reporter on all matters of importance which are laid before him; he examines the claims of the various candidates for bishoprics, and is the intimate adviser of the Pope, whose full confidence he is supposed to enjoy.

The authority of the Pope as Bishop of Rome is exercised by the Cardinal Vicar, who visits the churches, superintends the clergy, &c. of his diocese, and has his own tribunal and officers. There is also a congregation called *Della Visita Apostolica*, which administers legacies and trusts belonging to this jurisdiction.

Lastly, the power of the Pope as temporal sovereign of the Roman States, is that with which we are now more particularly concerned. The Papal monarchy is elective; the power of the sovereign is most unlimited, and resides entirely in his own person; for although he consults the cardinals, either in special congregation assembled, or, in cases of high importance, in consistory or general assembly, yet he is not bound by their opinion. The two principal ministers of the Pope as temporal sovereign, are the Cardinal Secretary of State, and the Cardinal Camerlengo. The former unites in his person the departments of foreign affairs and

of the home department; he is the prime minister and representative of his sovereign, both with foreign courts and towards his own subjects. He is appointed by the reigning sovereign, and leaves office when the latter dies. The Camerlengo is the finance minister, and is appointed for life. When a pope dies, the Camerlengo takes possession of the pontifical palace in the name of the Apostolic Chamber,* coins money in his own name, and is, in short, the acting sovereign until the cardinals are assembled in conclave. Afterwards the state is administered, till the election of a new pope, by three cardinals, who assume office by turns one day each! The Camerlengo presides at the court of the Apostolic Chamber, which constitutes a board of treasury. He has under him, more nominally, however, than really, the Treasurer-General, who is a prelate, and who has in fact the management of the budget, the administration of the state property and establishment. This office is generally filled by men of abilities. Cardinal Braschi, afterwards Pius VI., Cardinals Ruffo and Lante were treasurers before they received the cardinal's hat.

The Governor of Rome is also a prelate of the first rank, and, like the preceding, quits his office by being made a cardinal. He is under the authority of the secretary of state, but is vested with great discretionary powers concerning the police of the city and its district; he is summary judge of misdemeanors and offences not capital, and can condemn to imprisonment and hard labour. He goes out accompanied by a guard.

The Council, called *Sacra Consulta*, established by Sixtus V. is charged with the administrative power of the Roman States, Rome and its *comarca* or district excepted; it appoints the delegates and governors of towns, and corresponds with them. The armed force, the prisons, &c. are under its orders. It also superintends the health offices, and quarantine regulations. It is composed of cardinals and prelates, and presided by the secretary of state. The Roman states are divided into twelve delegations, namely, Bologna, Ferrara, Ravenna, Forli, Pesaro and Urbino, Macerata, Fermo and Ascoli, Spoleto and Rieti, Ancona, Perugia, Viterbo and Civita Vecchia, Frosinone. Each delegation is subdivided into governments. The delegates must be prelates; if cardinals, they are styled Legates.

Dependent on the Apostolic Chamber are several departments administered by prelates and also by lay Roman noblemen, such as that of the *Ripe ed Acque*, which has the superintendence of

* The Apostolic Chamber, in its abstract or general sense, is a fictitious denomination implying the state or fisc. The tribunal, however, of the Apostolic Chamber, is a real active body, and is generally designated in writing by the initials *A. C.*

canals and aqueducts—that *delle Strade*, or streets and roads—that of archives and registry, of the mint, &c.

There is also another congregation called *del Buon Governo*, which is independent of ministers; it is presided by a Cardinal Prefect, and composed of cardinals and prelates; it superintends the communal administrations, watches the interests of the communes, and often takes their part against the pretensions of government—"a very remarkable institution," says Tournon, "under an absolute government."—vol. ii. p. 36. The secretary communicates directly with the Pope, and receives his orders from him. This leads our author to examine the structure of the *municipal or communal organization* of the Roman state, which ought to form a most important feature of every administration, but which is commonly lost sight of in the sweeping views of general politics. The towns and villages of the Roman States have each a municipal council composed of 48, 36, or 24 members, according to the size of the town, and of 18 in villages having less than one thousand inhabitants. The members are taken in equal proportions from the nobles or *notables*, and from the citizens and farmers. They are appointed for life, and the council fills up vacancies as they occur. The council discusses the wants and the means of the commune, and makes out the yearly budget, which is sent to the delegate of the province for approbation. The council then fixes the rates to be paid, superintends the expenditure, and audits the accounts. It appoints the servants of the commune, pays the local police, the schoolmaster, and the apothecary and surgeon, who receive a fixed remuneration, and are obliged to attend gratis all the poor inhabitants. The council makes out every year a triple list of candidates among residents, of which list the delegate of the province chooses a Gonfaloniere and six elders, who constitute the magistracy of the town or commune. The Gonfaloniere is under the authority of the governor of the province. The former baronial jurisdictions, privileges, and immunities have been abolished.

"This system of municipal administration," observes Tournon, "will surprise those who imagine that in the Papal States every thing is left to the will or caprice of the government. Abuses of power are common, no doubt, but the written law is more favourable to the liberties of the people than is commonly supposed."—vol. ii. p. 41.

And he observes elsewhere, that the authority of the municipal councils is more extensive in the Papal States than it is in France.

The judicial administration is very complicated and dilatory in its proceedings. The civil courts are, 1st. That of Monte Citorio, presided by an auditor of the apostolic chamber, and three judges who are prelates; it judges in the first instance all

suits in Rome, and those of the comarca or district, above 300 scudi. 2d. The court of the Capitol, composed of the auditor, the senator, and two judges, which takes cognizance of any suit between laymen of the city of Rome. 3d. The court of the Cardinal Vicar, which judges of matters in which ecclesiastics are concerned. The appeal in suits below the amount of 825 scudi, is from one to the other judge of the same court; and in case of discrepancy of judgments, they are laid before the auditor of the A. C. Above the sum of 825 scudis, the appeal is before the Rota, which is the high court for all the southern and eastern parts of the state. (For the northern provinces, or the four legations of Bologna, Forli, Ferrara, and Ravenna, there is a court of appeal at Bologna, composed of six judges.) The Rota consists of twelve prelates, men of tried abilities, and the decisions of this court have generally been looked upon as marked with a character of wisdom and liberality rare among Italian courts of justice. After examining the documents and hearing the advocates of the parties, who plead separately before the judge, the court gives out a first decision, carefully explaining the grounds of the view it has taken of the case. This decision is printed and communicated to the parties. If the party to whom the decision is unfavourable make no opposition, the definitive sentence is then expedited. If opposition be made, the court examines the grounds on which that opposition is grounded. If it finds no cause to alter the first decision, sentence is passed; otherwise another decision is made out and printed, according to the new view the court has taken of the case. In this manner, however, decision will follow decision at times for years, before the passing of a definitive sentence.

"The Roman advocates, a considerable and distinguished body, are divided into two classes,—consistorial advocates, twelve in number, who alone plead before the pope and enjoy other privileges, and *avvocati rotali*, who plead before all the courts. At all times men of the highest merit have been found among them, and at the epoch of which I treat, the Roman bar was justly proud of the names of Bartolucci, Bontadossi, Angelotti, Lasagni, &c."—vol. ii. p. 89.

The *curiali* or *patrocinatori* answer to our solicitors and attorneys, and the *notari* are mere notaries entrusted with the preparation and care of documents and deeds.

The court of *Segnatura* is a sort of Court of Cassation, which decides on the competency of the other courts, and can annul their sentences for informality or other defects.

In the provinces, the delegates have no judicial authority in civil matters. Justice is administered in the first instance by the lieutenants or governors of the districts up to the amount of 300

scudi, and by a magistrate, called the Prætor, in every chief town of a province, in suits above that sum. The appeal from the prætor is before the lieutenants of the Apostolic Chamber for sums less than 825 scudi, and to the Rota above that sum.

The Courts of Commerce for mercantile affairs, which were introduced under the French occupation, have been maintained by an ordinance of Pius VII. in 1822.

The judges of all the courts are appointed by the sovereign. The qualifications for the office are, that he shall be above thirty years of age; that he shall have obtained the laurea; that he shall have practised at the bar for at least five years; and legitimacy of birth and a blameless character. Leone XII. p. 37-8. The chief emoluments of the judges consist of fees, of which there is a minute tariff in the above *Motoproprio.*

In criminal matters, every governor of a town or district decides without appeal on correctional matters and misdemeanors, and may inflict fines or imprisonment for one year. He also takes cognizance in the first instance of all other offences and crimes.

Every province or delegation has a criminal court, consisting of the delegate himself and four assessors, and which receives appeals from the sentences of governors, and can sentence to five years labour in the galleys.

At Rome, a congregation, composed of the governor of Rome with two assessors and six lieutenants, pronounces in capital cases.

The Auditor of the Apostolic Chamber decides on matters of correctional police for the city. The court of the Cardinal Vicar judges of cases in which ecclesiastics are concerned.

The Sacra Consulta is the high court of appeal, in criminal cases, from the different provincial courts of the southern and eastern states, and the Court of Appeal of Bologna from those of the Four Legations.

The proceedings of all these courts take place with closed doors; the prisoner is defended by the *avvocato dei poveri*, who is paid by the state, and who enjoys much consideration. This place is often filled by men of superior merit and liberal feelings. The accused may provide himself with another counsel, who can, however, only present written pleadings. The fiscal attorney is the public prosecutor. The Italian language is now exclusively used in all the courts. The system of secret trial in criminal cases is common to the whole of Italy, with the honourable exception of the kingdom of Naples.

Since the Motoproprio of Pius VII. in 1816, the sentences must be *motivate*, or the grounds on which they proceed clearly

stated; and the judges are forbidden to pronounce any other sentence but that fixed by the law for each respective offence. Every species of torture, as well as the punishment of the *corda*,* have been perpetually abolished.

The governors have also the charge of the police, and they may arrest and detain any individual on suspicion, reporting, however, his case to the superior authorities. A corps of carabineers, well disciplined and accoutred, has replaced at Rome the old *sbirri* or police guards, who were many of them men of indifferent character or reprieved criminals, without uniform or discipline.

"The prisons of Rome," says Tournon, "were in the last century better than those of most towns in Europe." The *Carceri Nuove* are airy, salubrious, and solidly built; *San Michele* is a house of correction, chiefly for women and boys, who are there employed at work. Charitable societies, *confraternite*, supply the indigent prisoners with food and raiment, and are a sort of useful check on the avarice or tyranny of jailors. The prisons in the provincial towns were some of them wretched enough; improvements were made in them during the French administration.

The two state prisons are the castle of St. Angelo and the fortress of Civita Castellana. There is a house of correction for priests, called the *Ergastolo*, at Corneto. Civita Vecchia and Porto d'Anzio are the two receptacles for galley slaves. In the former the old galleys were crazy hulks, in a state of filth and rottenness, but the prisoners have been since removed to the buildings on shore, where they are employed at hard labour during the day. They are ill-clothed and ill-fed. We have ourselves seen those at Porto d'Anzio, whose appearance was miserable. There is no distinction between the convicts, and little attention paid to their reformation. This, however, seems to be still the case in most countries of Europe; a convict is forsaken and forgotten, as if he were dead and could be of no more use in this world, and as if he had no soul for the next.

Speaking of the Holy Office or Inquisition, a name justly dreaded from its fearful records, but which for a long time past was at Rome little more than a name, M. Tournon says:—

"When the French took possession of Rome they found the prison of the Inquisition nearly empty, (they had been so for many years before,) and nothing in the regulations or internal arrangements of the

* This was a high pole fixed in the pavement of the Corso and other streets, with a pulley and rope, to which the culprit was attached by his wrists, which were fastened behind; he was then lifted up gradually to the summit of the pole, when all at once the rope being let go, the whole weight of the body fell on the arms, which were forced backwards, and the shoulders dislocated.

house showed that it had been recently the scene of any act of cruelty; on the contrary, the comfortable size of the apartments intended for the prisoners, their airiness and cleanliness, bespoke the humanity of those who presided over the establishment. It may be asserted that the Holy Office at Rome is nothing more than an ecclesiastical tribunal to check any misconduct of the clergy themselves."—p. 48.

And we may add, that its principal occupation is, perhaps, that of examining new books, and putting those they do not approve of in the *Index*. When Pius VII. was restored to his dominions, one of his first acts was to stop the proceedings of a fanatical inquisitor at Ravenna, who had tried and sentenced to death a converted Jew, for relapsing to his former creed. The sentence was of course laid before the Pope. Pius sent immediately for all the papers, annulled the sentence, and soon after he formally abolished the punishment of death and all corporal punishments in matters of heresy. He also decreed, that in future no charge should be admitted by the Inquisition unless the accuser himself appeared, together with the accused.—*Vita di Pio VII.* p. 133.

In his remarks on the criminal laws, M. Tournon enters into some important details on the character and morals of the people of Rome. Murders and highway robberies have for a long time constituted a great proportion of the criminal calendar. A violent instinct of vengeance or jealousy, provoked by overbearing insult or oppression, is the cause of the first crime; this once perpetrated, the criminal flies for safety to the mountains and woods, and there, from necessity, his career as a *bandito** begins. It is said, and with some appearance of reason, that the deficiencies of the law in the Papal States have assisted in the growth of these crimes; but yet we find that the northern provinces are free from banditti, and that in the southern ones it is chiefly one district in the Campagna which seems to be the nursery of these outlaws. Cicero mentions, even in his time, that district as one of bad fame.† The Mounts Lepini, which border the Pomptine marshes, have been long famed for this disposition of the inhabitants, whilst the neighbouring valley of the Anio is peaceful and free from crime. M. Tournon ascribes the propensity of certain districts to deeds of blood, to the impression stamped among the people by the feuds in the middle ages, when the barons themselves trained their vassals to acts of brigandage, until they were repressed by the stern policy of Sixtus V. But the weakness of succeeding reigns could not extirpate the evil by the roots. The life of a *bandito* had lost all its terrors and shame;

* *Bandito*, outlawed, banished from society. The plural is *banditi*, with only one *t*.

† Pro Milone: *noctu invidioso et pleno latronum in loco occidisse*, speaking of Bovillæ at the foot of the Alban Mount. And again: *sustinuisse crimen, ipse ille latronum occultator et receptator locus.*

it was considered a glorious adventurous profession. The inhabitants of those secluded districts look upon a bandito in a different light from the people of the towns. The bandito is pitied and feared. His wife boasts with her gossips about her husband being in the mountains; the neighbours cultivate his fields gratis, that he may respect theirs; the village surgeon, the shopkeeper, are ready to assist and supply his wants; the shepherds are his messengers; society has not broken all ties with the criminal—he is looked upon as "an unfortunate man." Even the government is ready to pardon him if he desist from his evil course, and to restore him to society, nay to employ him, to preserve the peace of the country. So strong is this feeling, that country girls are found to prefer sharing the fortunes of a bandito rather than become wives of a peaceful labourer. The bandito, on his side, strives to retain his influence by means of the terror he inspires. His revenge falls most fierce upon such of his fellow villagers as have either informed against, or denied him succour in his necessity. Even when not sanguinary towards travellers and other victims, he shows no mercy to the object of his revenge. He burns his cottage, cuts down his plantations, and if he lays hold of the unhappy wretch himself, he torments him to death. To those on the contrary who keep on good terms with him he is often generous. This is a sufficient explanation for the existence of banditti in one or two districts of the Campagna, without assuming that the people of modern Rome have a propensity for such a mode of life. The fact being, that the people of Rome and of the other towns have as great a detestation of banditti as those of London or Paris.

When the French took possession of Rome, in 1809, the number of banditti had increased fearfully, owing to the confusion that had so long reigned in the government of the country between two conflicting powers, the Papal and the French. The outlaws had assembled in the chain of the mounts Lepini, near the high road to Naples. The village of Giulano, alone, reckoned twelve, some of them veterans of twenty and thirty years standing in the trade. Santo Stefano, Prossedi, Supino, Sonnino,* all furnished their contingents. There were in all about one hundred known and declared outlaws.

The French, after promulgating their code, formed a gendarmerie, and set about hunting down the banditti in earnest. In a short time the greater part of them fell into the hands of justice and were executed, and the remainder concealed themselves in the remotest mountain fastnesses, where they kept quiet in hopes of being forgotten. But in 1811 the banditti reappeared once

* This last village was at last razed to the ground by order of Cardinal Consalvi after the restoration, on account of its incorrigible character.

more, and in still greater force, being reckoned about 120, and spread terror even to the gates of Rome. This was owing to certain faults of the French administrators, as M. Tournon frankly acknowledges. Through a false idea of economy, or a love of total change, they had suddenly dismissed the whole body of *sbirri*, or old police. Thus thrown upon the world, and unfit for any other pursuit, many of these men, out of despair, joined the bands in the mountains. Again, the odious conscription, though in its application to the Roman states much and wisely mitigated,* was a law so foreign to the habits of the people, accustomed for ages to peace, and appeared to them so unjust and oppressive, that many young men, unwilling to leave their country to go and meet their death under distant climates for interests foreign to them, ran away, and took shelter in the recesses of the mountains, where some of them joined the bands. The same thing happened in the Genoese territory; in Tuscany and Parma the Apennine chain became the asylum of refractory conscripts. The banditti, thus recruited, became a sort of guerilla; they endangered the communications of the French authorities; in 1813 they took prisoner the sub-prefect of Frosinone, and it was only by the display of all the force of the local government, consisting of some companies of gendarmes, and an auxiliary corps of chosen old *sbirri*, whom it was at last thought expedient to re-engage, besides the assistance of the troops of the line, that security was in some manner restored to the country. At the close of the French dominion, in 1814, the banditti in the Campagna of Rome mustered still above fifty. So much for the total suppression of the banditti under the French rule, for which they have been so much lauded by credulous travellers.

But while political grievances prevented the extirpation of the banditti, the police of the towns underwent a thorough and salutary reformation under the French regime. Eight commissaries of police at Rome, with a small municipal guard, maintained the city in perfect safety. The lighting of the streets, a measure then introduced into most Italian cities, and since happily continued, contributed to the public security. We remember the time when the streets of Rome and Naples were either in complete darkness, or only partially illuminated till midnight by the lamps in the shops and coffee houses, and occasionally by a dim light burning before some image of the Madonna or Sant' Antonio. Yet even then it was only private revenge a man had to fear; few robberies in the streets or houses were heard of. The promptitude and the publicity of trials were two great ameliorations introduced by the French, which, we are sorry to say, have not been kept up

* Only 3000 men were raised in the department of Rome during four years for the French Army. Substitutes were, therefore, easily procured at a moderate price.

at Rome since the restoration. When once the salutary certainty that punishment would unavoidably follow violence and crime was established in the minds of the people, a surprising change took place. It was as a burst of new light upon them which rectified the whole train of their ideas. "Often a sudden thought would come and restrain the uplifted hand ready to strike, and the man, as if at once restored to his sober senses, would exclaim: '*Ah! se non fosse la seduta!*' 'Ah! if it were not for the assizes!'"—ii. p. 102. The proceedings of the courts being public, a new scene was open to the people, who went to listen eagerly to the pleadings; they became persuaded that justice was administered impartially, and they applauded the full latitude allowed to the defence. The conviction that the rank and station of the offender made no difference in his favour, was another great moral lesson. The condemnation, among others, of a bill broker, for the murder of a servant, made a salutary and lasting impression. The influence of the parochial clergy and of the respectable part of the country population assisted the government in the work of reformation. The peasants and villagers, now sure of protection, understood that it was their interest to aid the magistrates and the police in arresting malefactors, a thing they would have spurned at before.

"By these means," M. Tournon concludes, "it was proved that the Roman people could be soon raised to a very high degree in the scale of morality, and rendered as humane, mild, and orderly as their neighbours of Tuscany. Indeed, there is nothing in the disposition of the modern Romans opposed to this assumption; on the contrary, they are full of intelligence, having a strong feeling of self-respect; and although prone to anger under provocation, they are in the common relations of life gentle, benevolent, and warm-hearted, and particularly expressive of their gratitude.* In the manifold relations I have had to entertain with all classes of the Roman people, in the assemblies for the drawing of the conscripts, so obnoxious to a country in which war and its stern duties have been strangers for ages past, in the midst of the popular festivals, in the markets and fairs, *no where have I seen traces of that turbulence and ferocity which travellers have been pleased to ascribe to the modern Romans.* I have found among the inhabitants of the most secluded districts of the Campagna a remarkable mildness of manners, not unmixed with a certain air of politeness;† often alone among them, or in the midst of the formidable Transteverini, my confidence in the good disposition of the people has never been for a moment betrayed, and my own experience, to which I may add that of every other Frenchman in an official capacity like myself, has given me a full conviction that it de-

* A complete refutation, and from excellent authority too, of the rash judgments of Mr. Galiffe and other tourists, who represent the people of Rome as "morose beings," and assert that "the poor will not even thank you for the alms you give them."

† We have two words, *urbanity* and *decorum*, which are of Roman origin, and still strongly characteristic of the manners of the modern Romans.

pends entirely upon the Government to make these people as orderly and peaceful as those of any country in Europe."—p. 104.

Such is the Count de Tournon's warm and touching testimony in favour of the poor vilified Romans, a testimony which our own acquaintance with them fully corroborates, and which, we think, coming from a man who was Prefect at Rome during four most critical years, and while his nation was peculiarly obnoxious to the lower classes, deserves more credit than the idle hearsays of an opposite kind of a whole score of the travellers of late years, of all countries.

M. Tournon gives a list of individuals tried before the two criminal courts of Rome and Perugia in the course of two years and a month, from August 1811 to September 1813. Of 2072 accused, about 1800 were found guilty, which on a population of 900,000 is 1 to 1000 yearly. In the department of Paris the proportion of accused to the population was in 1827 as 1 to 1500, and in 1828 as 1 to 1167. There is a great difference between this statement and Simond's sweeping assertion of 10,000 persons being accused every year in the whole Roman states, out of a population of 2½ millions. And we ought to notice with M. Tournon, that many of the individuals brought before the Courts of Rome and Perugia in the period alluded to were charged with crimes of older date, having remained in prison until the French organized their judicial system. And again, " the distress of the times at the same epoch had increased the number of offences against property, so that if we take all these circumstances into consideration, we shall form a less unfavourable judgment of the moral state of the Roman population."—vol. ii. p. 109.

The chapter on charitable and beneficent institutions affords one of the most favourable aspects of modern Rome. Benevolent institutions in that city date from the earliest ages of Christianity. M. Tournon passes in review the numerous hospitals, some of them truly magnificent, and the asylums for the indigent and the helpless of both sexes. At the time of the French occupation, the whole number of individuals sheltered in them was about 3500. Their income was as follows:

	Francs.
Rent of lands	331,399
Do. of houses	230,390
Mortgages, fees, &c.	169,989
Various receipts, donations, &c.	95,622
Produce of labour of the inmates	22,000
Credits on the state	332,000
Total	1,181,400

The last item, or dividends on government securities, however, owing to the distresses of the Papal treasury since 1796, were no longer paid, and the French administration at last *declared them extinct*, an act which M. Tournon justly calls "a double injustice, towards the charities as well as their numerous creditors."—p. 127. At the same time the value of houses fell more than one-half, the other sources of income were likewise affected, and taking into consideration the expenses of religious worship in all these houses, the salaries and pensions to their servants, the repairs of buildings, and the taxes, calculated at 100,000 francs, little more than 300,000 francs remained out of the whole sum which could be relied on. With this scanty residue it was impossible to provide for the 3500 inmates. A commission was formed, composed of Roman noblemen, who willingly undertook the laborious task, and by means of strict order and economy succeeded in fixing the expenditure at 800,000 francs, and the clear receipt at 400,000 francs. The surplus of the expenditure was defrayed by the municipal fund of the city.

We must say something of the Monte di Pietà, an institution once common to almost every Italian city. That of Rome was established in 1539. Its first object was to lend money upon pledges, charging a moderate interest for considerable sums, while the poor paid none: for this latter object it had been enriched by donations and legacies of charitable individuals. A bank was added to it, which received deposits of money on which it allowed a small interest, while it negociated the capital and issued notes. But at the French invasion of 1798 the whole establishment fell. Already Pius VI., in order to pay the exorbitant exactions of the Directory in 1797, after exhausting every other resource, had taken the valuable pledges out of the Monte, giving the owners government securities, which soon after lost all value.* The whole of the credits of the establishment itself upon the government, after paying first 5 per cent. interest, were gradually reduced to 3 per cent., then to $1\frac{1}{2}$; at last the dividends ceased to be paid. The French administration of 1810, by fixing the interest of money advanced on all pledges at 8 per cent., by obliging the various municipal receivers to pay a security into the Monte, and

* Many families lost, in this manner, considerable sums in jewels, plate, &c., upon which the Monte had only advanced one-third of the value; the rest became a dead loss. The conditions of the peace of Tolentino, imposed by General Bonaparte, were, that the Pope should pay within two months thirty millions of French livres, partly in cash and *the remainder in diamonds*. The French knew well that the Papal treasury had not got such a sum in specie, and they agreed to receive diamonds; of course, from the Monte di Pietà. Was this robbing the Pope or the people? We knew one lady, who, being absent from Rome, lost jewels to the amount of twenty thousand scudi, about £4,000.

lastly, by liquidating the credits on the state in lands and other national property, prevented the total ruin of the institution, although its original object was thereby in a great measure departed from.

After recapitulating the whole of the benevolent institutions for the relief of the poor and the unfortunate which the city of Rome contained, M. Tournon says,—

"We are struck at the sight of such prodigies of charity, and are led to imagine that they must have been effective in providing for all possible wants. But it is not the abundance so much as the judicious distribution of charities that is advantageous to mankind. Many of the above establishments had become almost ineffective through the neglect or cupidity of their administrators and agents, who often considered the property of the poor as their private patrimony, encouraged in this by the apathy of the government, which did not watch and punish this species of crime. Were men of character and independent fortune to preside over charitable institutions, as has been the case in some instances, the evil would soon be cured."—pp. 135, 136.

Notwithstanding all these charities, a number of persons of both sexes and of the poorer class used to receive their daily food at the gates of convents, or beg in the streets, or at the entrance of the numerous churches.

"The evil of mendicity appeared in all its horror in 1810, when the bankruptcy of many public charities, and the suppression of the monastic orders deprived thousands of their usual means of support; add to these the misery to which a number of small fundholders, dismissed servants of the state, pensioners, discharged attendants of cardinals, prelates, and of the Papal court, of workmen without employment, were reduced; a fearful mass of men, women, and children, many of them brought up in comparative affluence, found themselves at once literally without bread."..... The French administration, startled at the enormity of the evil, applied, not to Paris, but to 'the charity of the natives.' "A committee, composed of Roman noblemen and clergymen, among whom were Princes Piombino, Chigi, and Spada, was appointed to examine the claims of the applicants. They were divided into two classes, beggars and *pauvres honteux*. For the relief of the latter the municipality gave a sum of 220,000 francs. At the same time, manufactures were established in various parts of Rome, in which from 1500 to 1800 artisans of both sexes found employment; the men being paid 1¼ francs a day, and the women about half that sum. For the professional beggars and those who could not get work, two poor-houses were opened, one in the unoccupied Lateran palace for the men, the other in the fine convent of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme for the women. All those who applied were admitted, fed, and clothed, and made to work if able. Severe orders were given to arrest and bring in all beggars found in the streets. The women were employed in spinning and weaving, and at the end of one year forty looms were in activity. The men were employed at various trades, or hired to farmers in the vicinity. These two houses had, at the be-

ginning of 1814, about 700 inmates, the expense of whose maintenance was 95,000 francs. The first outfit of the two houses cost 100,000 francs.

We have already stated that the *reduced* list of persons receiving assistance, either at home or in the public establishments, under the French administration, was 15,000, about an eighth part of the population. But those were extraordinary times, times of sudden sweeping changes. M. Tournon observes, that "in many cities which have a reputation for activity and industry the proportion of destitute was greater than at Rome," and he instances Lille, which, out of a population of 70,000 has 30,000 names on the lists for charitable assistance. "In the cities of Belgium and of Holland the proportion is from one-third to one-fourth."

Our author introduces the subject of the finances of the Papal states by the following remarkable observation:—

"On examining the Papal finances, we were struck by the fact of the equal distribution of the public taxation, of which the clergy and the nobility have always borne their share in proportion to their properties, like the commonest villager: exemptions and privileges, which in other countries have engendered so much hostility against those classes, have been for ages unknown to Papal Rome."—vol. ii. p. 61.

The revenue of the states south of the Apennines, to which the Papal government was reduced in 1808, before its overthrow, having a population of 900,000 inhabitants, was as follows:—

	Scudi, at 4s. 3½d. sterl.
Dativa reale, or land tax	774,000
Extraordinary ditto, to pay the French army of occupation	774,000
House tax, at 3 per cent. on the rent in Rome	32,000
Macinato, or tax on the wheat when ground into flour	300,000
Extraordinary ditto, to defray the French troops	300,000
Ditto on Indian corn	107,000
Ditto on the wheat consumed in the city of Rome	190,000
Duty on salt	107,000
Ditto on wine	107,000
Ditto on tobacco	43,000
Customs	318,000
Fees on legacies and inheritances	12,500
Post office	17,000
Lottery	266,000
Tax on horses	12,800
Ditto on the transit of cattle	13,700
Stamps	4,500
Duties on wood, charcoal, hay, straw, brandy, fish and snow	60,500
Revenue of the domains of the Apostolic Chamber, or State	123,000
Total	3,576,000

The following was the expenditure at the same period:—

	Scudi, at 4s. 3½d. sterl.
Dividends on the debts	774,000
Pope's household and privy purse *	127,000
Apostolic Chamber	19,000
Other congregations, or boards of government	19,000
Ministers abroad	12,000
Courts of justice	107,000
Judicial expenses	77,000
Sbirri, or policemen	42,000
Galleys and houses of correction	61,000
Pensions	52,000
Chancery	2,000
Governors of provinces	60,000
Military	36,000
Public works	72,000
Pomptine marshes	22,000
Museum and fine arts	74,000
Miscellaneous	36,000
Total	1,592,000

The surplus of the income over the expenditure went to pay the French troops, for which purpose, as has been seen, more than one million extra taxes were imposed, and also to defray municipal expenses of the city of Rome, and to support institutions, charities, &c. The above budget, it must not be forgotten, is not that of the whole Papal states, as they are now, or as they were before the first French invasion, but merely of one-third of their extent.

The French government retained the principal heads of taxation, such as the land and house taxes, and those on the *macinato*, salt and tobacco, and the lottery; the petty taxes on wines, fuel, fish, &c., were transferred, under the name of *octroi*, to the city of Rome, and replaced by a registry and stamp duty; and they carried that system of regularity into the *bureaucratie*, for which they are so famed. But the amount of taxation remained as great as under the necessities of the latter years of the Papal administration. The department of Rome, constituting three-fifths of the late Papal states, was taxed 10,356,481 francs, or about 2,070,000 scudi. The expenditure, however, was absorbed by the salaries of the numerous *employés* of the French system, by repairs of roads, canals, monuments, &c., and by pensions, so that the whole amount raised was spent and circulated on the spot,

* "A very modest sum for keeping the Papal court," observes Tournon, "which is less than that enjoyed by many private individuals in several countries of Europe. And out of this sum Pius VII. found means every month to relieve many cases of distress."

and it was even found necessary sometimes to draw upon the revenues of the neighbouring departments—a circumstance which contributed considerably to the relief of the city of Rome. Pius VII. on his restoration adopted most of the French financial regulations, the system of collection, and the responsibility under security of the collectors; and a regular budget has been ever since made out by the treasurer-general. He also maintained the useful registry of mortgages.

The interest of the public debt of the whole Papal states, before the calamities of 1796, amounted to no less than 2,634,085 scudi. Pius VI., in consequence, first of his own prodigal expenditure, and then of the exactions of the French, reduced it to three-eighths; and he also, by a brief of September, 1797, assigned one-fifth of the church property for the liquidation of the debt. This last measure was only effected, however, during the last French occupation, when the debt was paid off by a sale of church domains to the amount of 100 millions of francs, which was afterwards sanctioned at the restoration by Pius VII. in his Motoproprio of July 6, 1816. M. Tournon observes, however, without any further explanation, that this great measure of liquidation "was effected in a harsh overbearing manner, different from the equitable system pursued in Tuscany, to the dissatisfaction of the Roman creditors."* The kingdom of Italy in the same manner liquidated its share of the debt for the northern portions of the Roman states, the Legations and the Marches, which had been annexed to it.

The revenues of the municipality of Rome consist in rent of public buildings and duties on consumption of certain articles, such as corn, cattle, wine, &c. They amount to about two millions and a half of francs. The communes in the provinces have also each their revenues from similar sources: they were possessed until lately of lands, which, however, owing to the necessities of the times, were seized by the late popes and sold.

In 1809 the number and revenues of the clergy of the province, afterwards department, of Rome, were as follows:—

		Total Income. *Francs.*
Bishops	20.....	299,900†
Abbots of Subiaco and S. Salvatore maggiore, with jurisdictions independent of Bishops	2.....	40,000

* Pius VII. on his accession, after the calamities of the first French invasion, paid the stockholders two-fifths of the interest at 3 per cent. The French, on their second occupation under the empire, recognized as capital the two-fifths only on which interest was paid. Then came a decree of Napoleon, which reduced these two-fifths to one, bearing, however, an interest of 6 per cent., like the other stock of the French empire. See *Edinburgh Review*, No. LXII. "Life of Pius VI."

† Two only of the sees are above 30,000 francs, four between 20 and 30,000, six

		Total Income. *Francs.*
Canons & beneficiati or Stipendiaries of Cathedrals at Rome	407	525,000
Ditto in the province	1,400	1,575,000
Parrochi or Rectors	665	290,000 *
Curates and other auxiliary Priests	1,575	no regular provision.
Boarders in 23 seminaries intended for the Church	627	132,000
Monks and Friars at Rome	1,463	930,000 †
Ditto in the Province	1,733	550,000 ‡
Nuns in 26 Monasteries at Rome	1,131	350,000
Ditto in 73 Houses in the Province	1,526	300,000

In all, 10,241, or about 2 to 100 of the whole population of the Province.

It must be observed, however, that many, especially of the regular clergy, were not natives of the country. Before the first French invasion, the clergy in the province of Rome were possessed of lands and houses valued at seventy-eight millions of francs, and in the whole Papal State at two hundred and fourteen millions, besides government securities, bearing an annual interest of eight hundred thousand francs.

Last year, 1831, the clergy *in the city of Rome* consisted of the following number:

Secular Priests, including Rectors, Curates, Canons, &c.	1432
Monks and Friars	1904
Nuns	1375

When most of the convents at Rome were suppressed by the French in 1810, both monks and nuns, the latter (says M. Tournon) without an exception, expressed a lively regret at being forced to abandon the houses in which they had made up their minds to pass the remainder of their lives. We have ourselves heard from eye-witnesses that their removal was attended, in some cases, with circumstances which rendered the scene truly pitiful. Old and infirm sisters, who were hardly able to walk, young ones who shrunk from the public gaze, unaccustomed to walk out in the streets, were thrown back with a trifling pension upon the humanity of their remaining relatives or friends. M. Tournon says, that—

"he did not hear from any of them a single complaint against their abbesses or superiors. Four large monasteries that were kept up at Rome were immediately and voluntarily filled by ladies from the sup-

---

between 10 and 20,000, and three are under 3,000; but then many of them are a sort of sinecure. The number of dioceses is out of all proportion to the extent and population of the province.

* Nearly one-half belonged to religious orders or chapters, and were defrayed by their respective communities.

† More than one-third of the monks were of the mendicant orders, and had no income.

‡ Most of the provincial monasteries were very poor, hardly able to afford sustenance to their inmates.

pressed ones. A great number of monks begged with equal eagerness to be allowed to live together in some of the convents which were excepted, *pro tempore*, from the general suppression."—vol. ii. pp. 58—60.

On the subject of education, our author observes, that—

"elementary instruction is afforded to the people of the Roman States with a liberality such as few countries can boast of; in the city of Rome alone eight schools, kept by the religious congregations *Scholarum Piarum* and *Somaschi*, fifty-two schools, called *regionarie* or district, for boys, and an equal number for girls, are opened to the poor, some gratis, and the rest for a fee of about two francs per month. In the country towns and villages there are masters paid by the municipal fund, who teach reading, writing, and arithmetic, so that not a single child need remain deprived of the first elements of education. But here, as elsewhere, either poor parents neglect to send their children to school, or the latter being destitute of the means and leisure, soon forget the little they had learnt."—p. 81.

The rectors and curates, however, generally enforce the attendance of children to the explanation of the catechism at the parish church on Sunday afternoons. There are two great establishments at Rome for the higher departments of education, namely, the university called La Sapienza, with about thirty professors, and the Gregorian, or Roman, College, with about twenty, where students attend the lectures gratis, or at least upon payment of a trifling annual fee. These institutions have revenues, and are also partly supported by the government. Young men from the provinces generally repair to Rome for their studies. There are many colleges for boarders, besides seminaries for those who are intended for the church. The instruction given at Rome is chiefly classical; the study of Latin, the humanities, rhetoric, and logic, constitute the courses generally followed by those who are not intended for the church, the bar, or the medical profession. The mathematical, physical, and natural sciences are rather neglected. In the learned professions, however, many distinguished men are to be found, of whom M. Tournon makes honourable mention, such as the astronomers Calandrelli, Conti, and Gigli, the mathematicians Pessuti, Monsignor Nicolai and Marini, the civilian Bartolucci, the physicians Bomba, Giovannella and Egidj, and others, some of whom are lately dead.

M. Tournon's fifth and last book is devoted to an account of works of public utility, roads, aqueducts, bridges, canals, the Pomptine marshes, of which he gives a detailed account, and lastly, the repairs and restorations of ancient monuments undertaken by the French administration in his time.

In the analysis we have given of this excellent and impartial work we have purposely abstained from entering into disquisitions on Roman politics, and we have left ourselves but little

room for the consideration of that subject. The facts we have stated will enable the reader to form an opinion on the people and their government. We must briefly allude, however, to the present question about the Legations. We wish we had some more authentic documents to guide us than the random effusions we have read here and there, with much declamation and few facts. Even M. Sismondi's pamphlet* is extremely vague in its reasoning. He says that the people of Bologna and the Romagna "demand only to maintain, under the sovereignty of the pope, the rights, the liberties, and privileges which they were possessed of when they formed part of the kingdom of Italy." We will not cavil here on the words *liberties* and *representative constitution*, which M. Sismondi employs when speaking of Napoleon's reign, but we will at once admit that the subjects of the kingdom of Italy were possessed of a regular and intelligible code; that the courts of justice and their proceedings were open to the public; that the people were equal before the law, bore an equal share of taxation, and were all admissible to the honours and emoluments of the state; that they elected their municipal magistrates, and were allowed freedom of opinion *on all but political matters*. These were undoubtedly great benefits, although purchased at the price of the conscription, of an inquisitorial system of police, and of occasionally arbitrary decrees from St. Cloud, duly registered and enforced by the authorities at Milan. These benefits the people of the Legations have lost since their restoration to the pontifical power, while the weight of taxation has remained nearly the same. To Napoleon's political inquisition has succeeded that of the priests, both on political and religious matters. The interference of the vicarial courts and of the parochial clergy in domestic concerns, in questions between husband and wife, father and children, is felt as peculiarly obnoxious. But the administration of justice, its dilatoriness, the indistinctness of the powers of the various courts, the multiplicity of appeals, and especially that to the pope himself, or rather his auditor, who can, by a *rescritto*, annul all the decisions that have been given, and send the affair in question again before new judges, these form the great, the really substantial, complaints against that government. Again, the higher situations and offices of the state are filled exclusively by ecclesiastics. Not being given to exaggeration, we shall not venture to assert that positive abuses of power and acts of flagrant oppression are very common, (we rather think they are not, especially at Rome,) but the power is known to exist, and this is enough to frustrate the purposes of the

* Des Esperances et des Besoins de l'Italie, No. VI. on our list.

laws. It is a system of perpetual tutelage, in which the laymen are kept as minors by their clerical guardians and governors.

The inhabitants of the southern provinces are by long custom reconciled to this system; their habits and ideas have, through many generations, shaped themselves to it; they look, generally speaking, upon the authority of the Pope and his delegates, even in temporal matters, as having been transmitted from a higher power; and those who entertain doubts on the subject are content to live as their fathers did, in a country where the population is not crowded, towns few and small, provisions cheap, and where the climate naturally disposes people to listlessness and repose. Rome is comparatively prosperous in times of peace, when the Papal court resides there, and the neighbouring provinces partake of the benefit, and follow the lead of the metropolis. The government, finding no opposition, holds the reins slack, and society contrives to go on in tolerably good humour. There is, in short, some sympathy existing there between the governors and the governed. Twice in 1831 the people of Rieti repulsed the Bologna insurgents, and prevented their advance upon Rome. But the case is totally altered, when we pass into the northern provinces. After crossing the Apennines, we may find in the fine province of the Marches some remaining attachment and subserviency to Rome, especially among the rural population; but when, proceeding along the Adriatic coast to Rimini, we enter the Romagna by a narrow neck of land between the Apennines and the sea, with the mountain of San Marino standing in the gap, we meet with a new country, new climate, new people, new dialects and new habits. It was the country of the Cispadane Gauls, separated even of old from Italy Proper by the Rubicon. The inhabitants of the Legations have greater affinity with their Lombard neighbours than with the Romans. Their country merges into the vast plain of the Po; its waters run into that common estuary. Bologna, a large and wealthy city, proud of its learning, has been often at variance with the Popes, who, till the time of the French revolutionary invasion, allowed it some remains of municipal independence. It was the first to proclaim the republic in 1796, and after that epoch the Legations followed the fortunes of North Italy till 1814, when they were militarily occupied by the Austrian armies, and afterwards, and not very readily,* given to the Pope, more than a year after he had been restored to the possession of his other states. A whole generation had grown up who had no recollection of the Papal government, and yet that government silently abrogated the former municipal rights of

* See Giordani's curious Letter to the delegate Giustiniani on the occasion, in the twelfth volume of his *Opere*, published in 1821, about the words *given* and *restored*.

the Bolognese, and placed them on the same footing with the rest of its subjects. We believe this system will be found impracticable. The four Legations, Bologna, Ferrara, Ravenna and Forli, contain nearly one million of inhabitants; while the Marches and the Southern Provinces number about one million and a half.

From the Papal government, however, unless absolutely coerced, we expect but little flexibility in adapting itself to the changes of the times. Had we thought otherwise, the work second on our list would have convinced us of our mistake. After perusing "the Historical Memoirs of Cardinal Pacca's Ministry, and his Deportation and Imprisonment at Fenestrelle," we have risen with feelings of uncommon depression. We respect a sincerely conscientious man, whatever be his creed; and we abominate the petty tyranny which Napoleon displayed towards the aged and virtuous pontiff, Pius VII. But as long as the court of Rome maintains its tenacity to what it considers its super-human rights, it will remain exposed, itself and the country it rules, to a return of similar calamities. In reading Cardinal Pacca's Memoirs nothing has struck us more forcibly than the feature of perfect unchangeableness of mind and ideas among the Roman hierarchy. *Semper eadem.* Every thing alters around, in the social as well as the political world: old empires are shaken to their foundations, all traces of the past are swept away; principles and theories unheard of a century ago become paramount; and still, the Court and Clergy of Rome remain the same. Buried in the atmosphere in which they have been bred, the Roman prelates and princes of the church, when looking out from the windows of their Consistory Hall on the Quirinal, see nothing but a submissive believing world at their feet; they still consider Rome as *Caput Mundi*; the Papal benediction from the balcony of St. Peter's is given *Urbi et Orbi;* and if in the midst of all this, couriers should arrive, bearing strangely worded despatches, importing not only alarming secessions from the spiritual authority of the Pope, but even more urgent news of rebellion and foreign aggression, these are considered as passing storms, which the bark of St. Peter will weather, as it has already weathered others still more terrific. Such is the constant reply, and those who sincerely believe in the doctrine are certainly among the happiest in their minds. Of the external world they are childishly ignorant. Wrapped up in the study of the canon law, the decretals, the bulls, briefs and motoproprios, they see no sound reason why people should dissent now from these emanations of an authority above that of all sovereigns and assemblies. Hence their surprise when violently removed from their own sphere, as in 1798 and 1809, at finding themselves roughly used by unbelievers, of the extent of whose

unbelief they had no previous idea. Yet even then, while shut up in a coach under an escort, and with a mustachioed *gend'arme* for a companion, they still think themselves objects of veneration to the world. They see women and children kneeling before them as they pass, and they believe that all France is still Catholic to the core. In reading Pacca's Memoirs we might almost fancy ourselves carried back to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, at the time of the quarrels between the Popes and the German Emperors. But, alas for Rome! how different the spirit in the two epochs!

Apart from the tone of the work, there is considerable information to be derived from Pacca's book about the events of the period it refers to. We learn several particular deeds of the French at Rome which did not come within M. de Tournon's jurisdiction, but proceeded from orders direct from Paris, such as the imprisonment of Colonel Bracci, because he refused to incorporate his troops with those of the French, against the positive orders of his sovereign, who was still residing in his capital, nominally at the head of the government, (vol. ii. p. 209;) the arrest of the Marquis Patrizi, who was confined first at Civita Vecchia, then at Fenestrelle, where Pacca met him, and lastly at Chateau d'If, because he refused to deliver up his two sons to be educated in France, agreeably to an order from Napoleon, which was enforced on several of the most distinguished families of Rome, (vol. i. p. 202); the imprisonment and subsequent death, in the Castle of Fenestrelle, of Count Cassini, a Piedmontese officer in the Russian service, who was arrested while travelling in Italy, in time of peace between Russia and France; and other similar anecdotes of Napoleon's *liberal* and *constitutional* government. We have a full account of the state prisons and the treatment of their inmates, with the names of those who were confined for years at Fenestrelle with Pacca, bishops, curates and laymen, Italians, Frenchmen and Spaniards, for having spoken or written letters reflecting on the emperor's conduct, (vol. i. pp. 188—197.) There are also many particulars about Pius VII. and Napoleon at Fontainebleau: we are glad to find that the story of the latter having struck the aged Pope is positively contradicted by Pacca. There is an honest minuteness in the Cardinal's statement which, independent of his character, vouches for the correctness of his facts.

We had written thus far when the publication in the newspapers of a diplomatic correspondence between the English and Austrian Ministers at Rome, dated last September, and of a note

from Prince Metternich to the English Ambassador at Vienna, dated July, both on the subject of the Legations, has induced us to resume the pen. The Papal Government, it appears from these documents, has refused from the beginning two points among the concessions suggested to it in favour of its subjects:—

1st. The admission of the principle of popular election as a basis of the communal and provisional councils.

2d. The formation of a Council of State, composed of lay persons, besides the Sacred College, or, according to Prince Metternich's commentary, *in opposition* to the latter.

As to the first point, we have already seen that communal and provisional councils exist, and have always existed, in the Roman States. By the *motoproprio* of Leo XII. sect. 159, the members of the said councils were, in the first place, named by the Pope, and their office declared hereditary, the vacancies that might occur afterwards by the extinction of families to be filled by the councils themselves. The question raised since concerning their election and removal appears to us to resemble, in principle at least, that between the open and close vestries in England, and when we observe how long the latter has been agitated, and the select vestries have been defended in an old constitutional country, we cannot wonder at the innovation being opposed by an absolute and ecclesiastical government such as the Pope's. It were difficult to deny that the principle of popular election is in direct contradiction with the spirit, and must, if admitted, necessarily clash with the power, of the Papal theocracy. The question is, whether an essential part of the system can be altered without changing the whole. Moreover, Prince Metternich observes, that "all the other Italian Governments protested against the admission of the principle of popular election, which is altogether alien to their institutions;" and their protests, backed by Austria, as Sovereign of Lombardy, form of themselves a formidable obstacle.

With regard to the second point, namely, the formation of a Council of State, or central board, composed of laymen, for the purpose of revising all the branches of the administration, such a council must evidently do away with many of the attributes of the various congregations, or boards of Cardinals or prelates, if not with the congregations themselves. In fact, *if meant to be permanent*, it would secularize the Papal Government, and abolish the theocratical superiority which the College of Cardinals claim as their exclusive right. Were a Pope to show himself inclined to consent to this, he would be told by his electors, the Cardinals, that he cannot dispose of the patrimony of the church; that he cannot part with any attribute of a power, in which, as an elective functionary, he has only a life interest. It is not an easy thing

for a foreigner, and a Protestant, to argue with the Papal advocates on such questions, as the latter start from principles which the former does not admit. The Papal Government is, in principle, even more than in practice, unlike any other government in Europe. But whatever may be thought of these refused innovations, "which," Prince Metternich says, "being out of the sphere of administrative ameliorations, related essentially to the form of the Papal Government, and tended to create a new power in the State," there remains another and a most serious charge against the Papal Government, namely, that of having, after repeated promises, disappointed its subjects, even in those *administrative ameliorations;* on which Prince Metternich himself says, "it was allowable, on the part of the allies, to give advice to his Holiness." Mr. Seymour positively states that, after a lapse of above fourteen months since the memorandum of 21st May, 1831, was transmitted to Cardinal Bernetti, with the joint consent of the Ministers of the five powers, "not one of the recommendations which it contains has been fully adopted and carried into execution by the Papal Government; for even the edicts which have been either prepared or published, and which profess to carry some of these recommendations into effect, differ essentially from the measures recommended in the memorandum." And Prince Metternich, in his note of last July, while assuming the defence of the Pontifical Government, and saying, that "*most of the objects* recommended in the memorandum were accomplished on its part," ends by repeated and earnest declarations, that the Austrian Government "has not ceased to urge in the most pressing manner the Sovereign Pontiff not only to maintain in complete execution the legislative dispositions already published, but also to give to those dispositions a character of stability beyond the risk of future changes, without preventing useful improvements. And the interest which Austria feels in wishing *all just subjects of discontent* in the Pontifical States to be put an end to, has not stopped here. The most earnest recommendations for the establishment of the best possible order in the different branches of the administration *have not been spared* to the Roman Government, and experienced Austrian functionaries, well acquainted with Italy, were placed at its disposal, in order to aid in introducing all practicable ameliorations, &c." No other evidence than this is required to convince us that the Papal Government had not shown, at the date of this note, any great eagerness to fulfil its task. The tone and texture of the above passage seem to express that the patience of the Austrian Cabinet has been severely tried by the shuffling equivocations, the unconquerable dilatoriness, the incapacity, or the provoking obstinacy of its Roman *protégés.*

In fact, what ameliorations have been effected? Not to mention the urgent, yet unaccomplished reform of the whole financial system, which is in a state of most serious embarrassment, the principal outcry in the Papal States is about the judicial courts: *justice, equal, prompt, and cheap justice,* is the great want of the people: an intelligible and permanent code of laws, such, at least, as Tuscany, Naples, and Lombardy possess. But the patch-work reforms promulgated at Rome last year have not effected this. They seem only to have added to the confusion that already existed in the Roman judicature. The multiplicity of appeals, the interference of the ecclesiastical courts and mixed jurisdictions, the censorial power of the Cardinal Vicar, and his court and agents on domestic matters,—these have been retained. Another essential grievance is the disqualification of lay persons for the higher offices of state. The Papal Government might surely open the door to office and emolument for its lay subjects, together at least with its clerical ones, without endangering its own supremacy.

The plea which is urged by the Pontifical Government, and echoed in its behalf by the Austrian Minister for refusing the two constitutional points, namely, that "concessions of that nature were, even in the eyes of the malcontents, but arms wherewith to attack on the first opportunity the Papal Government, whose very existence they wished to destroy," cannot hold good with regard to the administrative, judicial, and financial ameliorations, which would, on the contrary, remove the tangible grounds of discontent, which alone render the faction alluded to formidable. That there is in the Romagna, as well as in other Italian States, and indeed in most countries of Europe, a set of men* whom no concession can ever satisfy, no experience reclaim,—men who spurn alike the dictates of prudence and justice, who defile the fair name of liberty by using it as a watchword for the foulest passions, who aim at the destruction, not only of all monarchies, but of society itself as at present constituted over Europe, it would be affectation or extreme simplicity to deny; the parties themselves no longer covet mystery; they have for the last two years proclaimed their sentiments to the world wherever the press has been open to them. We readily subscribe to Count Lutzow's proposition, if confined to this class, that they have not effected any thing hitherto for "the happiness of the people:" a phrase which is often on their lips: we are convinced they never will; and, moreover, we believe that, except a few hallucinated enthusiasts

* The minutes of the trial of the conspirators of Macerata in 1817-8, which were published at Rome at the time, disclose circumstances of the greatest atrocity. The conspiracy extended even then over Bologna, Romagna, and the Marches. The secret societies in Apulia about the same epoch furnish also features equally revolting.

among them, they care as little about the happiness of the people as the Janizaries did when they revolted against the Sultan, or the prætorian bands, when they slew the Cæsars. But the very knowledge of the existence of such men ought to be an additional motive to the Papal Government for effecting, by timely reforms, a separation between this "dangerous faction and a much larger and more reasonable portion of the Roman population, who would thus become bound by fresh ties to their sovereign, while the other would be rendered powerless by the extravagance of its demands." We here agree with Mr. Seymour, whose words we have borrowed. Whatever influence the revolutionary propagandists may at times seem to possess in some countries of Europe, depends mainly on the more judicious and better thinking part of the community being thrown by real grievances on the same side with them. Grant these satisfaction, and they will spurn the absurd cry of republicanism. A republic in the Romagna in our days!* The scenes of 1797-8, over again, and no Bonaparte at hand to remedy, by the ascendancy of his stern will, the blunders of the would-be republicans! No:—the Italians, those at least whose opinion is worth any thing, are too shrewd, have had too much experience, to lend themselves again to the delusion. The humbler classes, the rural population especially—and Italy is an agricultural country—are neither infidels nor jacobins. It is because we know this,—because we are convinced that the Papal Government could not be overthrown without lighting a blaze all over Italy, which would spread to other countries,—because we reflect that thousands and tens of thousands of families yet live peaceably under the Papal sway, whose happiness would be endangered by a violent convulsion,—because we feel for the safety of that noble city, whose name is to us all as one of common kindred,—because, as has been shown in the above pages, "all is not barren" there, even in the present condition of the country,—because the Papal hierarchy, with all its faults, has acquired at various periods of history claims on the gratitude of Italy and of Europe, and has produced down to the present times, many excellent and distinguished individuals,—it is for all these reasons that we express our humble but anxious wishes that the Court of Rome may yet, while it is time, remove, by a resolute and ample course of improvement, all just subjects of complaint on the part of its subjects of the Legations, and with them the dangers that threaten again the whole of that fine division of Italy over which it rules.

* We have seen an *Antologia Republicana*, published at Bologna last year, consisting chiefly of reprints of poems, written by Gianni, Ceroni, Scevola, Monti, 35 years since, in the heyday of republicanism, in praise of liberty and Bonaparte! Monti's imprecatory sonnet against England is among the number.

ART. III.—*Reliquien von Albrecht Dürer, seinen Verehrern geweiht. Taschenbuch für Deutschland's Kunstfreunde, zu Albrecht Dürer's dritter Secular-feier.* (Relics of Albert Durer, dedicated to his Admirers. A Pocket-book for the lovers of German Art, on occasion of his third Centenary Celebration.) Nürnberg, 1828. 18mo.

WE have repeatedly had occasion to allude to the spirit of nationality that, almost within our memory, has sprung up in various parts of Europe, displaying itself in the search after, and veneration of, those national antiquities which the affected classicism and refinement of the eighteenth century abhorred as barbarous and gothic:—two words, by the way, then used as synonimous. We have upon those occasions discussed some of the various lines in which this spirit of nationality, according to the various inclinations of the individuals it influences, exerts itself, especially those of history, legal institutions, customs and usages, and literature; but the subject is far from exhausted, and we now wish to invite attention to one of those lines yet untouched by us, namely, the Fine Arts.

The reasonableness or unreasonableness of the well nigh exclusive enthusiasm of Dr. Waagen, Johanna Schopenhauer, &c. &c. &c. for the Old German and Low-Country Masters, is a question that we do not intend to moot. We have no mind to expose ourselves either to the *stiletto* of Italy, or to the transcendental disdain of Germany; no, nor even to the ineffable contempt of English *cognoscenti*, by involving ourselves in the controversy, let alone emitting an opinion, upon the relative merits of the Italian and German Schools; which, moreover, being altogether a matter of taste, we are at full liberty to leave undecided and unargued, according to the old *non-disputandum* adage. But we should not hold the duties we have undertaken to be duly discharged, did we not afford our readers the means of estimating the impassioned admiration, the reverential love now felt in Germany for what is deemed the especial German School, and for the Old German and Netherland Painters. We therefore gladly embrace the opportunity of so doing, offered by the little volume now before us, which, though it bears the date of 1828, has but lately fallen in our way.

These "Relics of Albert Durer" are published in the form of an Annual; and as such it might have escaped our notice, or seemed only fit to be thrown in with a whole batch of its fellows. But this Nuremberg *Taschenbuch* is entitled to a different degree of respect, both from the high interest every where attached to the name of Albert Durer, and from its appearing almost in the

light of a monument raised to his honour, by the venerable and, to our fancy, beautiful old city, which still glories in her artist's fame, and sedulously preserves every memorial of his former presence, every indication of his being her own. But ere we proceed to examine the Relics themselves, we must say a few words touching both the early cultivation and condition of the arts amongst our Teutonic kindred, and the rise of the existing passion for the Old German school of painting: two matters so blended together that they must perforce be treated conjointly.

The taste for the old masters seems to have originally manifested itself under the collecting form, and we believe the best gallery of their works extant is that which was the first begun, collected by two gentlemen of the name of Boisserée, and which long remained the property of them and their friend M. Bertram. The brothers Boisserée were merchants, who did not suffer their pursuit of wealth to induce neglect of mental culture. During the dispersion, consequent upon the French conquests, of all such church and convent works of art as were not seized for the Louvre Gallery, the Boisserées, in the way of business, picked up cheap some old German and Flemish paintings. Their taste and fancy were touched by their acquisition. The cleaning and reparations requisite for a profitable re-sale, heightened their sense of the merit of their purchases; and they gradually conceived so ardent a passion for the long-neglected early Flemish and German artists, that from a casual picture-dealing transaction, they became the most enlightened and the most indefatigably zealous collectors. Their labours and exertions have been crowned with success, and their gallery, now, we believe, after a first transference from Heidelberg to Stuttgard, purchased by the King of Bavaria, and permanently fixed at Schleissheim, is said to be unrivalled. It is entirely composed of the works of the Old German and Low Country artists, and if it does not contain all their masterpieces, possesses specimens of all their excellencies, and by its judicious selection and arrangement is calculated to delight those *amateurs* who sympathize with its collectors, to gratify those who "for several virtues" "love several" schools and several artists, and to afford the student of the history or the science of painting the happiest possible field for prosecuting his inquiries. Messrs. Boisserée have rendered a farther service to the arts by the publication of a series of admirably executed lithograph copies, finely coloured,* of the originals of which this Gallery is composed,

* The title of this splendid work is *Die Sammlung Alt Nieder und Ober-Deutscher Gemälde, der Brüder Boisserée und Bertram, lithographirt von T. N. Strixner.* (The Collection of Old Low and High German Pictures, of the Brothers Boisserée and Bertram, lithographed by T. N. Strixner.)

thereby enabling foreign amateurs, and their own countrymen, to form a correct notion of its merit and value. Although they, perhaps, hardly do justice to John van Eyck, since they cannot display the brilliancy and clearness of colouring which constitute one, if not the chief, of the excellences of that master, they form a most instructive exhibition of the varieties and progress of the Flemish and German schools, in drawing, composition, and expression. In all these points they establish, as fully as we could desire, the immense superiority of Albert Durer over his German predecessors and contemporaries, showing him amply endowed with the art of telling his story, and, we will venture to say, with the soul and the inspiration of a painter.

This gallery, always most liberally shown, drew, perhaps even in its incipient state, the attention of patriotic lovers of the arts, and German authors began to write of German artists. The first who, to the best of our knowledge, zealously took up the subject, was that mighty veteran of literature, who for more than half a century exercised an influence, we believe unexampled, over the tastes and opinions of his countrymen, and indeed of a large portion of Europe,—we mean Goethe. From the first number of that great author's later periodical, entitled *Hefte über Kunst und Alterthum*, (Papers upon Art and Antiquity,) we shall take the liberty of borrowing much of what we have to say upon the subject.

When the Fine Arts, banished by political convulsions and the devastations of war from Italy, took refuge at Constantinople, in a Greece far unlike the Hellas that had given them birth, they assumed a peculiar character, which Goethe terms "the gloomy oriental aridity," and describes as chiefly marked in painting by stiff symmetrical composition, a gilded background, and a Moorish or Ethiopian complexion, distinctively and habitually given to the representations of our Saviour and the Virgin;—whence this last strange peculiarity was derived he professes himself unable to explain. He conceives this Byzantine school of painting to have prevailed in all those parts of Germany which were sufficiently polished to value the Fine Arts, and especially on the wealthy and populous banks of the Rhine, having been there introduced either by pictures brought from Constantinople, or by painters educated in that metropolis, then boasting itself the only Christian seat of luxury, refinement, learning, and cultivation. This lasted until the thirteenth century, of which era Goethe says:

"But now a gladsome feeling of nature breaks suddenly through, and that not as a mere imitation of individual reality; it is a genial revelling of the eye-sight, as though then first opening upon the sensible world. Apple-

cheeked boys and girls, egg-shaped faces of men and women, comfortable looking old men with flowing or curly beards, the whole race good, pious, and cheerful, and although sufficiently individualized, collectively embodied by a delicate and tender pencil. So with respect to the colours. These are cheerful, clear, aye and powerful too, without especial harmony, but likewise without gaudiness, and always agreeable and pleasing to the eye."

The painters on whom Goethe bestows these praises, he nevertheless considers as mere improvers upon the Byzantine school, to which they still indubitably belonged—we are not even sure whether they had discarded the unaccountable negro complexion—and John van Eyck was the first who fully emancipated himself from its trammels. Him he calls a pre-eminent man, and says further:

"We do not for an instant hesitate to place our Eyck in the first class of those whom nature has endowed with pictorial faculties. * * * His compositions possess great truth and loveliness. * * * He was a right-thinking and right-feeling artist."

Upon an artist thus eulogized by Goethe—to say nothing of the herd of minor and more extravagant encomiasts—an artist who was the real founder of the Flemish school of painting, and is believed to have materially influenced the art even in Italy, we must dwell for a few minutes, notwithstanding he be not our immediate subject.

John van Eyck was a native of the Netherlands, and although considerable discrepancy of opinion exists as to the precise dates of his birth and death, it is certain that he was alive, and at the height of his celebrity, about the middle of the fourteenth century. He had then discarded the gilt back-ground, substituting landscape, buildings, or whatever best suited his subject; had rejected the established formal symmetry of composition, and, whether his predecessors had or had not ventured on such an innovation, he was in the habit of giving every beauty of colour as well as of feature to the divine persons he depicted. His chief merits were fidelity to truth and nature, just expression, correct drawing of his heads, careful and high finishing, great beauty, brightness, and clearness of colouring, and especially a skill in composition, then and there at least previously unknown, by which he not only told the story he meant to represent, but, introducing into his landscape-background some totally unconnected incident of ordinary life, gave a singular air of reality to the whole. His faults were an ignorance of anatomy, that made his drawing of body and limbs as defective as that of his heads was good, great stiffness of attitude and drapery, a want of blending in his colours, and a total absence of

all aspiration after ideal beauty or sublimity. The very qualities by the way, good and bad, that might have been expected in the founder of the Flemish school.

These faults are admitted by the warmest of van Eyck's modern admirers, and Dr. Waagen, in his publication *Ueber Hubert und Johann van Eyck*, expresses his surprise at the unqualified assertion of the painter's contemporary, the Genoese, Facius, who, in his work *De Viris illustribus*, says that John van Eyck was esteemed the first painter of his day. This superlative praise from an Italian appears, however, less extraordinary when we recollect that the dark and hard school of Cimabue, then prevailing in Italy, must have given peculiar effect to the brilliancy and clearness of the Netherlander's colouring. But there is another circumstance, extraneous to his skill as an artist, that might very materially influence the judgment of his contemporaries, and of which we must briefly speak ere we dismiss this really talented man.

It was long generally believed that John van Eyck was the first discoverer and inventor of the art of oil-painting, all his predecessors having mixed their colours with water, and secured their preservation by different varnishes dried upon the pictures in the sun. This opinion originated, we believe, with Vasari, who, in his *Vite de' piu eccellenti Pittori, Scultori, ed Architetti*, relates a long story concerning the rise of the invention, from the disaster that befel a picture carefully finished by van Eyck, which split with the sun's heat whilst the varnish was drying. Vasari goes on to state, that the mortified painter, who was skilled in chemistry, such as the science then was, forthwith applied himself to seek some mode of mixing his colours that should supersede the use of sun-dried varnish, and found linseed oil, duly prepared, to answer his purpose. Vasari further names the two favourite scholars of the discoverer, viz. Roger of Bruges, and Antonello da Messina, an Italian attracted to the Low Countries by the fame of van Eyck, to whom he at length imparted his secret, and through whom, after years of concealment and some death-bed revelations, it was finally made public.

In later and more critical times the truth of this whole story has been questioned. Authors of all countries have attacked Vasari; a treatise upon oil painting, written in the tenth or eleventh century, by a monk named either Rogerus, or Theophilus, or Tutilo, has been discovered; and Bernardo di Domenici, in his Lives of Neapolitan Painters and Architects, published in 1744, speaks of an oil painting bearing the date of 1309, a period when John van Eyck was certainly unborn. We have hinted that we love not controversy, and the investigation of this matter

would require us to wade through piles of dull volumes, probably leaving us at the end of our labours little more enlightened upon the subject than we are now; when we incline to think with Dr. Waagen that oil colours had been used by early painters, but in an imperfect manner, perhaps equally with the varnishes used for water colours, requiring to be dried in great heat, and that van Eyck's discovery was a mode of preparing the oil that enabled it to dry without heat. We moreover conceive with Goethe, that he devised a mode of using oil, which gave his colours the clearness so much admired in his pictures.

John van Eyck was followed by a constant succession of painters formed in his school, whom we may pass unnoticed, our object being merely to show the state of the arts north of the Alps prior to Albert Durer. In order to do which completely, we must now turn to another part of the subject, and mention a curious, and, we believe, exclusively German regulation, touching the social condition of the votaries both of the arts and of the muses, which could not but powerfully act upon their genius, taste and feelings; and which, *a priori*, might well have induced the conclusion, that never by any, the remotest possibility, could Germany produce poet, painter, or sculptor.

These creative spirits "of imagination all compact," poets, painters, and sculptors, were constituted into regular guilds, or incorporated companies, as carpenters, blacksmiths, haberdashers, and other trades. The youthful aspirant, deemed by his parents or himself a genius, was formally bound to a master of his craft, and subjected to all the bye-laws, in Germany many and whimsical, applicable to common apprentices and journeymen, ere he could be admitted a master, and set up in trade on his own account. Freedom or mastership was earned by a specimen of the candidate's skill in his business. In poetry this skill was, we know, appreciated more by the observance of arbitrary rules and the management of mechanical difficulties, than by the imagination or passion displayed, and the same spirit would probably prevail in the painters' company.

Turn we now to Albert Durer, whom Germany still esteems one of the brightest jewels in her crown of fame, and who in all other countries, if not regarded with such passionate enthusiasm, is admired as an extraordinary man. As a painter, he is universally allowed to have excelled in conception, in composition, in fertility of invention, (these Vasari says were a mine of wealth, whence subsequent painters, even Italians, borrowed,) in brilliancy of colouring, and in high finish; to have drawn correctly, if somewhat stiffly; and to have reformed, if he did not found the German school of painting. It must be recollected that in

the 15th century facility of intercourse and consequent diffusion of knowledge were not quite what they are in the 19th; and the German school had not yet adopted the improvements of the Flemish. Durer's pictures, for the most part crowded with figures, are still preserved in great numbers in public and private galleries, and that even in Italy. What remain to us form, however, in all likelihood, a very small part of what he produced, the works of the older masters having in Germany suffered cruelly from the insane iconoclastic zeal of some of the fanatical sects which there swarmed at the era of the reformation. As an engraver, Albert Durer raised the art from infancy to a degree of perfection that has only in late years been surpassed. Vasari pronounces some of his woodcuts so good, that in many respects it would be impossible to do better. And a recent English author* says, "It would perhaps be difficult to select a more perfect specimen of executive excellence than his print of St. Jerome, dated 1514." Albert Durer, moreover, carved in wood and in ivory; studied and understood the arts in all branches immediately or remotely influencing his own; and wrote treatises, translated into Latin, French, and Italian, upon Perspective, Anatomy, Geometry, Architecture, and the science of Fortification, as well as upon Painting and Sculpture. And all this was accomplished in a life considerably shorter than that usually allotted to man, inasmuch as he who achieved the whole died at the age of 57, of a disease, however irksome, seldom fatal, *i. e.* a penurious and termagant wife.

We will now open the little volume, to which all we have hitherto said has been but an introduction. It is illustrated with four engravings, namely, of Albert Durer's portrait from his own pencil, of his house, most religiously preserved by the Nurembergers as he inhabited it, of his tomb, and of that of his friend, Wilibald Pirkheimer, a man of considerable consequence in his day, whose wealth, high character and literary connexions, afforded the humbler artist his best means of cultivation. The portrait offers as happy an exemplification of the painter's merits and defects as could well be hoped. Even in the print, we perceive the beautifully high finish of the painting; the resemblance is manifestly of the kind called a speaking likeness; the features, the flesh, the mild and tranquil intellectual expression, are perfect; the hair is incomparable; and yet the effect of the whole is rather unpleasing, from its inconceivable stiffness and formality. It looks as though the original were spell-bound in

* Bryan's Biographical and Critical Dictionary of Painters and Engravers, &c. 2 vols. 4to. London, 1816.

immobility, and we almost wonder how he lifted his hand and turned his eyes to paint it.

The literary contents of the volume are papers written by, or relative to, the artist. These are a short account of the Durer family and of Albert's own early youth,—a few letters,—some slight attempts at poetry,—a diary of his journey to, and in, the Netherlands—two dedications of his printed works—and an account of, and elegy upon, his death, by Pirkheimer. The volume is edited by Dr. Friedrich Campe, a Nuremberg gentleman, bearing more literary and municipal designations and dignities than we have patience to transcribe or even to read; and who thus announces the Relics of Albert Durer, in a something, which we know not whether to call a preface, an advertisement, or a dedication to the public:

"I hope to offer to the admirers of our Albert Durer no unwelcome gift in this little book, through which they will learn to know Durer, painted by himself, better than through the Fancy-pictures (*Phantasie-gemälde*) of modern times."

The first relic, entitled *Eigene Familie-Nachrichten von Albrecht Dürer*, or Private Family Notices, begins in the following quaint and pious style:—

"I, Albert Durer the younger, have put together out of my father's papers whence he was, how he came hither, and remained here, and ended blessedly. God be gracious to him and us! Amen."

The Durer family was, it seems, Hungarian, and their original seat a village named Eytas, near the little town of Jula, and some few more miles from Wardein—(we are not quite sure whether this means Great Wardein or Peterwardein), where, for generations, they followed the occupation of graziers. But the painter's grandfather, Antony Durer, sickening, in boyhood, of this rural pursuit, betook himself to Jula, and was apprenticed to a goldsmith. At Jula he married, settled, and bred up his eldest son Albert (Albert Durer the elder) to his own business, whilst a younger son became a priest at Wardein. Albert travelled through Germany and the Low Countries, improved himself in his art under "the great artists," as our Albert terms the skilful Netherland goldsmiths, and finally reached Nuremberg in 1455. There he entered the service of old Jeronymus Haller, an eminent goldsmith, and, at the end of twelve years, his skill, honesty and industry were rewarded with the hand of his master's daughter, Barbara. By her he was the father of eleven sons and seven daughters; our Albert, born in the year 1471, being the second son and third child. The paper thus proceeds:—

"This Albert Durer the elder spent his life in great difficulties, and in hard and heavy work, and had nothing to live upon but what he

earned with his own hand for himself, his wife and children, and therefore had he very little. He experienced manifold crosses, troubles and afflictions. He has also had good praise from all people who knew him; for he led an honest, Christian life, was a patient and soft-tempered man, peaceable towards every one; and he was very thankful to God. Moreover he wanted not much worldly pleasure, he was of few words, kept little company, and was a God-fearing man."

The worthy goldsmith of course brought up his children carefully; and his son thus goes on:—

"He had especial pleasure in me, as he saw that I was diligent in learning: therefore my father let me go to school, and when I had learned reading and writing, he took me out of the school, and taught me goldsmith's craft. But now, when I could work neatly, my inclination led me more to painting than to goldsmith's craft, and that I set forth to my father; but he was not well content, for it repented him of the lost time that I had spent in learning to be a goldsmith; yet he gave way, and on St. Andrew's day, when 1486 years were reckoned from the birth of Christ, my father bound me to Michael Wohlgemuth for my apprenticeship, to serve him for three years. In that time God gave me industry, so that I learned well, but had much to suffer from his men; and when my servitude was ended, my father sent me out, and I remained abroad four years, till my father called me back; and as in the year 1490 I had gone eastwards away, so now, when 1494 were reckoned, I came back after Whitsuntide; and when I was come home, Hans Frey dealt with my father, and gave me to wife his daughter, by name maid Agnes, and gave me with her 200 *gulden*."

Our monetary science is unequal to turning the lady's dower into pounds, shillings and pence; and with the announcement of his marriage we shall close this simple picture of the training of the greatest painter of his country. The first paper contains little more, except the religious death of his father, his filial care of, and reverence for, his widowed mother, and her death. We proceed therefore to supply, as far as other sources enable us so to do, the particulars of which the artist's own modest record leaves us ignorant.

The skill in goldsmith's work that Albert had acquired prior to his quitting the business, was considerable, and he had produced a representation of The Passion, in enchased silver, which delighted his father, and astonished all masters and judges of the craft in Nuremberg. During the four years of his *wanderschaft* (this term, which may be Englished his travels or travelship, is the technical designation for a period of wandering exercise of his trade required from every journeyman, and ordained in early times, probably, with a view to the acquisition of the improvements devised in various places,) during this *wanderschaft*, we say, Albert visited the best living painters of Germany and the

Netherlands, and studied the works of their deceased predecessors. Upon his return to Nuremberg, he executed the test-specimen of his abilities, which was to procure for him the freedom of his Company and the rank of a Master-painter. This was a pen and ink drawing (a style in which he always excelled) of Orpheus under the hands of the enraged *Bacchante*. It excited universal admiration, especially for the management of the landscape-background; and is said to have been a main cause of Hans Frey's wish to bestow his daughter upon an artist so promising that he could hardly fail to prove a good match.

A marriage, concluded in the business-like way already described, offered little prospect of turning out happily; nor do we find our expectations deceived. The most un-lamblike Agnes, inflicted, rather than bestowed, on the much-enduring Durer, was, as has been insinuated, an avaricious shrew. Other painters, other geniuses, as well as philosophers, have suffered under this sorest of common-place evils; and different men have adopted different ways of remedying or bearing the calamity. Socrates, by mere dint of philosophical equanimity, seems to have regarded Xantippe's modes of annoyance much like those of a fly, or at worst, of a gnat. The jovial Hans Holbein quietly transferred himself to England, and, with the exception of some few visits, requisite to preserve his rights as a citizen-master-painter of Basle, spent the last eighteen years of his life as a bachelor, or a widower bewitched, at the court of our Henry VIII., leaving his Xantippe to herself, and his luckless brats to stand the brunt of household tempest as they might. Albert Durer, soft-tempered and God-fearing like his father, had perhaps too tender a conscience thus, like Holbein, to shake off the bonds of a solemn engagement upon their becoming burthensome, and too much of the keen susceptibility of genius to acquire any portion of Socratic impassibility. He submitted to his fate, and in the end sank under it.

But if Albert Durer denied himself irregular modes of emancipation from fireside annoyance, it was not for want of knowing and appreciating the felicity that such relief, when fairly attainable, was calculated to afford. In the year 1506 he was called to Venice by an affair which shows how high his reputation then stood in Italy. Marc Antonio, a Bolognese engraver, resident at Venice, had copied some woodcuts of Albert Durer, and in order to pass them off as originals, had likewise copied the German artist's *monogram*, as an artificial combination of initials, by way of signature, was termed. Durer hastened to Venice, to seek redress from the Venetian government; and so far he obtained it, that Marc Antonio was prohibited from forging his *monogram*.

Upon occasion of this short excursion, his wife was left at home; and the letters he addressed to his friend Pirkheimer from Venice, published in our *Taschenbuch*, show the zest with which he enjoyed his liberty; the joviality of his tone frequently indeed according but ill with the refinement of modern times. Part of the most decorous of these missives we shall, however, translate as nearly as we can render the quaint and often obsolete language.

"First of all my willing service, dear sir; and if it go well with you, I am as heartily glad thereof as though the case were mine own."—(Some excuses for not writing sooner, which we omit, conclude thus:) "Therefore I humbly pray you to forgive me, for I have no friend on earth but you. Also I give it no belief that you are angry with me, since I hold you no otherwise than a father. I wish you were here at Venice; there are so many pleasant companions amongst the Italians, who, the longer the more, consort with me, so that it touches one's heart; for reasonable, learned, good lute players, fifers, good judges of painting, and noble-minded right virtuous persons, do me great honour and friendship. On the other hand, there are also here the falsest, most lying, thievish knaves, as I believe none such exist on the face of the earth; and he who should not know it, would think them the pleasantest people in the world. I myself cannot choose but laugh at them when they talk with me; they know that one knows such wickedness of them, but they care nothing about the matter. I have many good friends amongst the Italians, who warn me not to eat and drink with their painters; and indeed many of these are my enemies, and copy my things in the churches and wherever they can get at them, and then revile them, and say they are not after the antique fashion, and therefore not good; but Sambelliny" (Giovanni Bellini, Titian's master, called Zan Belin in the Venetian dialect), "he has praised me very highly before many gentlemen; he would fain have something of mine, and came to me himself, and prayed me to do him something, and he would pay me well for it: and all people tell me he is so worthy a man that I equally value him. He is very old, and is still the best at painting. * * * Given at Venice, at nine o'clock at night, on the Saturday after Candlemas, in the year 1506."

The reader will recollect that the year then began at Lady day.

In another letter the announcement of his approaching return home is followed by these exclamations. "Oh how I shall shiver for the sun! Here, I am a Lord; at home, a mere Nobody!" We have no room for more specimens of our painter's *naïf* epistolary style; and must pass over various letters to Pirkheimer or other correspondents, whether of friendship or of business, even though much in the latter move our inward man; *e. g.* the writer's earnest argument against the low prices offered him for his pictures, founded upon his large expenditure of money in the purchase of ultramarine, and of time in minutely and highly finishing them, and the petitions, extorted doubtless

by his wife, for something extra, in the nature of something to drink, as a compliment to that insatiate and arbitrary dame.

After the settlement of his Venetian affairs, Albert Durer paid a short visit to Bologna to study perspective, and then returned to Nuremberg. Thence he despatched a letter and a portrait of himself to Raphael, who appears to have received both as marks of esteem from one whom he himself esteemed, and repaid them in kind, by a letter and some drawings. The German artist was now in truth at the summit of his fame. His native city gloried in his reputation, and testified her respect by electing him a member of her great municipal council;—a dignity not to be confounded with the civic honours of a London alderman, for be it remembered that every Free Imperial City, (and such was Nuremberg,) though a member of the federal German empire, constituted a self-governed republic; the councils of those cities being their legislative, and the *bürgermeister*, or mayor, their executive authority.—The most distinguished *literati* throughout Europe sought Durer's acquaintance; Kings and Princes sat to, and honoured him, and the Emperor Maximilian named him his Court Painter, with a yearly salary of one hundred *gulden*,* besides paying separately for every picture he should bespeak or purchase. An anecdote is related, illustrative of Maximilian's value for the favourite artist, closely resembling, in kind at least, one preserved of Henry VIII. and Holbein.

As Albert Durer was sketching upon a wall in presence of the Emperor and his court, the ladder upon which he stood slipped, and the monarch bade the nobleman who was nearest the painter hold it. The nobleman, drawing back, beckoned a servant to perform in his stead an office which he judged derogatory to his rank. Maximilian rebuked him; and when the courtier urged in his justification the necessity of maintaining his dignity, indignantly rejoined, "Albert's excellence in his art raises him far above a nobleman; for I can transform a peasant into a Count of the Holy Roman Empire, but not a nobleman into an artist."

To return to the *Taschenbuch*. The letters are followed by the painter's poetical attempts, as they are properly designated. The sister arts, we believe, like mere mortal sisters, chuse severally to engross the affections of their respective votaries, thinking it foul scorn to accept a divided allegiance. At least, if examples there be of individuals acquiring supreme excellence in two unconnected arts, assuredly Albert Durer was not one of these

* If we cannot quite tell how much this came to in sterling money, we know that it was half of the sum total of his wife's marriage portion; a sufficient measure of relative value.

phœnixes, to speak in the plural of that which is essentially singular, and we hold it best to pass over his verses.

We now come to the most curious, and in many respects the most interesting of the relics here preserved, *i. e.* the Diary of Albert Durer's Netherland journey in the years 1520-1521. This private record of his thoughts and actions deliciously reveals the simplicity, goodness and piety of the writer's character, together with his modest vanity, if we may thus modify a quality by its opposite, and his cordial delight in all that was great, extraordinary, or beautiful: it moreover affords us a glimpse of the state of opinion and of social intercourse in those days; but the minuteness of detail, especially with respect to the journalist's expenses, renders it occasionally tedious. We shall endeavour to exhibit it under every point of view, in the extracts we are about to make, after we have rectified a mistake of Strutt, in his Biographical Dictionary of Engravers. It is there said that Albert Durer's main object in the journey was to escape for a while from his intolerable wife. Had it been so, harsh were the moralist who would have severely blamed him; but this was not the case. His objects were to study more closely the masterpieces of a school more akin to his own than the Italian, when he himself was fitter to appreciate and profit by them than during the *wanderschaft* of his novice years, and also to make money both as a painter and an engraver. The duration of a journey undertaken for such purposes could not well be calculated, and as Albert Durer seems to have thought that he had taken a wife "for better for worse," he probably did not hold himself free to leave her behind when his absence might be of long continuance. She and a maid servant, therefore, accompanied him.

The journal thus begins; we must premise that we shall abridge and omit at our own discretion:

"On Thursday after St. Kilian's day, I, Albert Durer, at my own cost and charges, set out with my wife from Nuremberg for the Netherlands, and the same day we passed Erlang, and lay that night at Baiersdorf, and there we spent three *batzen*,* less six *pfennige*. * * * Thence I drove to Bamberg, and gave the bishop a painted *Marienbild* (or image of the Virgin)†, and copperplates to the value of a *gulden*, he invited me as his guest, and gave me a *zoll-brief*, and three *fürder-briefe*."

Of the four *Briefe*, or letters with which the prelate repaid the artist's present, the *zoll-brief*, or toll-letter, seems to have been

* We believe the *batz* or *batzen* was worth about three halfpence, and the *pfennig* half a farthing; but we have already confessed our monetary ignorance, and hope a general knowledge that these were among the smallest coins current, may satisfy the reader as it does ourselves.

† We hope this was a picture of the Virgin, but sadly fear it was a painted wooden image. It is a present more than once mentioned.

an exemption from tolls and customs, extending even beyond the jurisdiction of the reverend giver; for at almost every town they pass, Albert Durer says, "Then I showed my toll-letter, then they let me go:" and even when it does not so promptly answer the desired purpose, he usually escapes with signing a declaration either that he has no merchandize with him, or that he will bring none back. The *fürder-briefe*, a sort of letter we never before met with, appear to have been some kind of letters of general recommendation; the only use we observe to be made of them, is that they are shown to Margrave Hans, at Brussels.

"Thence we drove to Antwerp; there I came to the inn of Jobst Planckfeldt, and that same evening the Fuggers' factor, by name Bernard Stecher, invited me, and gave us a costly meal. But my wife eat at the inn, and I gave the driver, for bringing us, three persons, three florins in gold. Item, on Saturday, my host took me to the *bürgermeister* of Antwerp's house, beyond measure large, and very well ordered, and with wonderfully beautiful large rooms, and many of them, a costly ornamented tower, an excessively large garden, in short, so magnificent a house, that in all the states of Germany I never saw the like. * * * Item, I gave the messenger three stivers, two pf. for bread, and two for ink.

"Sunday was St. Oswald's day; then did the painters invite me to their rooms* with my wife and maid, and had every thing of silver, and other costly ornaments, and over costly victuals. And their wives were all there. And when I was led to table, then did the people all stand up on both sides, as though a great lord were a-leading. There were also among them very excellent persons of men, who all with deep bows demeaned themselves most reverently towards me, and they said that they would do every thing, as far as might be possible, that they should know would be agreeable to me. And as I sat so, there came the council-messenger of my lords of Antwerp, with two attendants, and bestowed on me, from my lords of Antwerp, four cans of wine; and they sent me word that I should receive it as a present from them, and accept their good will. For this I returned my humble thanks, and offered my humble service. After that came master Peter, the city carpenter,† and bestowed on me two cans of wine, with the offer of his willing service. So, when we had sat long merrily together, and late into the night, then did they attend us home with torches, very honourably, and prayed me to accept their good will, and that I should do whatever I pleased, and they would be helpful to me. So I thanked them, and laid me down to sleep.

* * * *

"In Brussels, in the golden chamber of the council-house, I have seen the four painted matters, done by the great master Rudiger (Roger van der Weyde.) * * * Also I have seen the things brought to the king from the new gold country (Mexico), a sun, all gold, a whole fathom broad. Also a moon, all silver, equally large; also two roomsfull of the

* The guildhall of the painters' company.
† A title of municipal dignity, we presume.

like, weapons, armour, artillery,* very strange clothing, bedding, and all sorts of wonderful things for men's use, that are beautiful to look upon. These things are so costly that they are valued at 100,000 *gulden*. And in all the days of my life I have seen nothing that has rejoiced my heart like these things; for therein have I beheld marvellous works of art, and wondered at the subtle ingenuity of the people in the strange country, and I do not know to speak what I felt.

"Item, Lady Margaret (governess of the Netherlands), she sent for me in Brussels, and promised that she would be my protectress with King Charles, and showed herself especially virtuously towards me. I gave her my engravings of the Passion, also one to her treasurer, by name Jan Marini, and drew him in charcoal. Item, I was in the house of him of Nassau, and saw in the chapel the good picture made by master Hugo (van der Goes.) * * * Item, drew Master Bernhardt (von Oelay), the lady Margaret's painter, in charcoal. I have again drawn Erasmus of Rotterdam. I have given to Lorenz Stärck a St. Jerome sitting, and the Melancholy, and I have drawn my landlady's gossip. Item, six persons whom I have drawn at Brussels have given me nothing. I have paid three stivers for two buffalo horns, and one stiver for two *Eulenspiegels*." [This may either refer to a rare print by Lucas of Leyden, now scarcely to be had for money, or to the book so called; Dr. Campe believes Durer's purchase to have been the latter.†] * * * "I presented lady Margaret, the emperor's sister,‡ with a set of my things, and sketched her two matters on parchment, with all care and great pains, that I value at thirty fl.

* * * *

"Item, on Friday before Whitsuntide, in the year 1521, came the story to Antwerp how Martin Luther had been so treacherously taken prisoner;§ for whereas the Emperor Charles's herald, with an imperial safe-conduct, had been given him, with him he was in trust; but so soon as the herald had brought him to an unfriendly spot near Eisenach, he said he durst stay with him no longer, and rode away. Straight were ten horse there, who treacherously led away the saint, the man enlightened by the Holy Ghost, him who was a follower of the true Christian doctrine. And whether he yet live, or they have murdered him, which I know not, this has he suffered for the sake of Christian truth, and because he chastised the unchristian papacy. * * * * And this is especially the heaviest to me, that God will perhaps leave us under their false, blind doctrines, which were invented and set up by men whom they call the Fathers. * * * Oh Lord Jesus Χρε, pray for thy people, preserve in us the true Christian faith, call together the

* It is to be remembered, that in the sixteenth century artillery was not confined to cannon, but seems to have included all missive weapons.

† See *Foreign Quarterly Review*, vol. viii. p. 370, *et seq.*

‡ Margaret was sister to no emperor. She was daughter to Maximilian, and aunt to his successor, Charles V., then emperor.

§ The occasion of this alarm was the concerted seizure of Luther by his constant protector, the Elector of Saxony, in order to conceal him from persecution. Its success depended upon deceiving friends and foes alike; and this passage has historical interest as exhibiting the effect produced by the measure.

widely scattered sheep of thy pasture, of whom a part are still to be found in the Roman church, with the Indians, Moscovites, Russians, Greeks, who, through the false conjurations and avarice of the Popes, through false shows of holiness, have been severed! * * * Oh God! if Luther be dead, who shall henceforward so clearly expound the Holy Scriptures to us? Oh God, what might he not have written for us in another ten or twenty years! Oh, all you pious Christians, help me diligently to bewail this God-inspired mortal, and to pray Him that He would send us another enlightened man! Oh, Erasme Roterodame, where wilt thou abide?

* * * *

"I have reckoned with Jobst, and I owe him 31 florins, and I have paid him, taking into account and deducting two portraits painted in oil colours, for which he gave me out 5 pfd. (pounds, probably, of something, but of what we know not). In all my painting, boarding, selling and other dealings, I have had disadvantage in the Netherlands, in all my concerns with high and low; and especially has the Lady Margaret, for all that I have presented her and done for her, given me nothing. And this settling with Jobst was on St. Peter and St. Paul's day. I gave the Rudiger servant 7 stivers to drink.

* * * * * * *

"Item, on the Sunday before St. Margaret's day, the king of Denmark gave a grand banquet to the Emperor, the Lady Margaret and the Queen of Spain,* and invited me, and I too ate there. I gave 12 stivers for the king's *Futteral*,† and I painted the king in oil colours, and he gave me 30 florins."

We would willingly extract more of this journal, but what we have given, as much as we can afford space for, will convey a tolerable idea of its character, and peculiar sort of interest.

Seven years after his return from this, in a pecuniary sense, altogether unsuccessful expedition, on the 6th of April, 1528, Albert Durer, worn out with incessant labour, and the discomforts of his home, died of a decline. Of his character as a man and an artist, we need add nothing to what has been already said, and shall conclude with an extract from a letter upon his death, written by his ever kind friend Pirkheimer to Johann Tscherte of Vienna, imperial architect; which we give for the sake of the picture it presents to us of the artist's domestic persecution, not certainly as a specimen of composition. He says:

"In Albert I have truly lost one of the best friends I had in the whole world, and nothing grieves me deeper than that he should have

* We know not whom our good Nuremberger means by the Queen of Spain. Charles's wife was of course Empress, and the only true Queen of Spain was his mother the insane Joanna, who lived in a kind of confinement in Castile.

† We leave this word untranslated, conceiving it to be an old technical term for the equally technical, and now we believe, obsolete, *vails*, at a royal table. Literally, it means case, or sheath; and may have been a case coutaining the spoon, knife and fork, if such luxuries as forks were then in use, for each guest.

died so painful a death, which, under God's providence, I can ascribe to nobody but his huswife, who gnawed into his very heart, and so tormented him, that he departed hence the sooner; for he was dried up to a faggot, and might nowhere seek him a jovial humour, or go to his friends. * * * Besides she so urged him day and night, and so hardly drove him to work, only that he might earn money and leave it to her when he should die; for she would always, as she does still, squander money privately; and Albert must have left her to the value of 6000 *gulden*. But nothing could satisfy her, and in brief, she alone is the cause of his death. I myself have often remonstrated with her, and warned her as to her mistrustful and culpable ways, and foretold her how it would end; but I thereby gained only ill will. (The German word *undank*, has a peculiar signification, which neither ill will nor ingratitude express; it is literally the contrary of thanks.) For whoever loved that man, and was much with him, to him she became an enemy, which in truth grieved Albert most highly, and brought him underground. I have not seen her since his death, or let her come near me, though I have been helpful to her in many things, but *there* there is no confidence. Whoever opposes her, and does not always allow her to be in the right, him she mistrusts, and forthwith becomes his enemy; therefore I like her better at a distance than about me. She and her sister are not queans; they are, I doubt not, in the number of honest, devout, and altogether God-fearing women; but a man might better have a quean, who was otherwise kindly, than such a gnawing, suspicious, quarrelsome, good woman, with whom he can have no peace or quiet, neither by day nor by night. But however that be, we must commend the thing to God, who will be gracious and merciful to the pious Albert, for as he lived like a pious honest man, so he died a Christian, and most blessed death, therefore there is nothing to fear for his salvation."

ART. IV.—1. *Histoire de France depuis la Restauration.* Par Charles Lacretelle, &c. &c. Paris: Tomes I. & II., 1829. Tome III., 1830. 8vo.

2. *Histoire de la Restauration, et des Causes qui ont amené la chûte de la branche ainée des Bourbons.* Par un Homme d'Etat. Paris: Tomes I. & II., 1831. Tomes III. & IV., 1832. 8vo.

THE two works which we have placed at the head of this article contain portions of the history of France during the period included between the first restoration and the final expulsion of the elder branch of the Bourbons. It is a period peculiarly interesting and instructive: and it is of great moment that the nature of that government which was overthrown by the Revolution of 1830 should be well understood in this country. It is perhaps somewhat difficult to arrive at this knowledge, in consequence of the erroneous notions which have been spread by the

contending parties in France, and eagerly circulated by those which fought under somewhat similar designations in this country. Great pains have been taken by our conservative party to trace the calamity of the late revolution to the establishment of representative government in France; and to show the incompatibility of freedom there, as elsewhere, with quiet submission to laws. They palliate the Ordinances of Charles X. as an imprudence into which the Court was driven by the continued aggressions of conspiring Liberals, or defend them as a paternal exertion of legitimate and well-intentioned despotism, frustrated unhappily by an absence of proper precaution on the part of the ministers, and by the outrageous turbulence of a capricious populace, incapable of appreciating the beneficence which lurked beneath the assumption of arbitrary power. The fanatical friends of Liberty have equally distorted the matter by their exaggerations. They represent the government of the Bourbons as from the very first unpopular, on account of the hereditary hatred borne by the people to the family of their ancient rulers, as established by the bayonets of the Allies, despite the longings of the nation for the popular sway of their chosen Napoleon, or the imagined blessings of a Republic, and as imposing a yoke of the most grinding tyranny on its conquered subjects. Far different views of the real situation of the French nation under the late dynasty, and of the causes of the revolution which overturned its dominion, will result from a careful investigation of events. Happily the publicity of representative government has prevented facts from being entirely obscured by the cotemporary frauds and passions which pervert the judgments of the careless: and it is quite in the power of any honest inquirer to obtain for himself by a little pains a simple and satisfactory explanation of events which are apt at first to appear obscure or anomalous. The restoration of the Bourbons, though not brought about by any unanimous expression of national desire, was accepted with very general satisfaction, and enjoyed a great popularity: their government secured a degree of tranquillity and practical freedom which the French had never before enjoyed; and it promoted, or, what is the same thing, allowed, an unparalleled improvement in the moral and material condition of the country. Its fall, nevertheless, is not to be attributed to unjustifiable popular caprice. The discontent against the Bourbons was just and general: it is to be attributed solely to the folly and oppression of their misrule, and the practical misery which it inflicted on the people at large.

It is easy to reconcile the merits of the fallen dynasty with the faults which occasioned its overthrow, to show that it was the best government which France ever had, and at the same time that its

further existence was incompatible with the welfare of the people. The Bourbon family reascended the throne of France with two conditions of peculiar fitness—its legitimacy, and its compatibility with constitutional government. Its descent from the ancient line of kings gave it an apparent title to royalty, which, weak as it was, was the only one that could be set against that of the deposed Emperor: and it conciliated the confidence of the European monarchs, in whose hands the fate of France was in some measure placed. The people were relieved from the pressure of foreign wars, and the conflict of the partisans of various forms of internal government. The Charter at the same time guaranteed to the people a certain share in the government, and the maintenance of the institutions which owed their origin to the Revolution. As long, and in as much as the Bourbons respected the Charter and the Revolution, their government was good and popular, and secured to the people the blessings of peace, tranquillity, and freedom. By their misconduct they marred both the happiness of their subjects and the advantages of their own position. They excited national discontent by their hostility to the constitutional restrictions on their authority, and their attempts to restore the institutions and manners which the Revolution had effaced, and the people hated; and this discontent dated from the very period of their restoration, because their misrule was simultaneous with their possession of power. The constitution was not sufficient to protect the people from various kinds of misgovernment, which inflicted excessive and general vexation: and to that extent the government of the Bourbons was oppressive and justly odious. To many of the designs of the Court the Charter enabled the people to oppose a successful legal resistance, and the government in consequence turned its hostility against the Constitution, and sought by various devices to narrow the protection which it afforded against encroachments. The last act of Charles X. was calculated to deprive the people of every guarantee for the continuance of such a degree of good government as had previously been enjoyed. There was no mystery either in the restoration or the expulsion of the Bourbons. The people recalled them because it trusted to their governing well. They had the folly to deceive these hopes. The people murmured at their misgovernment; bore it long in hopes of a change for the better; and finally shook off their authority when it had ceased to be in any degree compatible with a continuance of the benefits it had previously assured.

M. Lacretelle is well known by his writings on various periods of the history of his country. Gifted with a style, which, in spite of frequent pomposity and sentimentalism, is in general clear and

elegant, he has given an interesting and connected narrative of the events of the Restoration. A royalist by feeling, he is known to have advocated a strict fidelity to the Charter, as the most prudent and dignified course for the legitimate race; and to have drawn on himself the vengeance of its more bigoted partizans by his opposition to their unconstitutional tenets and acts. As a mere narrative, or as an exposition of the feelings of the class of royalists to which he belongs, his work is valuable: the reader who desires to arrive at the causes and connection of the various acts which it details, will find in it only information of the shallowest kind. A profound and accurate view M. Lacretelle is too careless, and far too little of a philosopher, to be enabled to impart.

The work of the anonymous '*Homme d'Etat*' is much more interesting, and contains a more elaborate and a sounder view of events. The name of History is one, indeed, to which it has few pretensions: the narrative is too diffuse, too imperfect, to entitle it to any character save that of a species of contemporary memoirs, of which the reflections and anecdotes will afford useful materials to a future historian. A very general rumour has ascribed it to M. Decazes: the internal evidence, though not decisive against this supposition, on the whole appears somewhat incompatible with it. The writer is, however, no doubt what he professes himself to be—a man of high station, and one who has played a leading part in the politics of the first years of the Restoration. Of the ministers who managed the affairs of the country at that period he professes himself a warm admirer: the work, indeed, seems undertaken chiefly for the purpose of obtaining from the public a just appreciation of their merits, which he sets in invidious contrast with the faults committed by their old opponents, the Liberals, during their occupation of the government since the Revolution of July. To the order of things established at the Restoration he professes himself attached. He entertained, in common with the best friends of liberty, the hope of seeing the throne of the Bourbons united to the freedom and civilization of France. Nevertheless, no man can show less sympathy with their errors. For their feudal and fanatical follies he throughout marks the greatest contempt and aversion; and if he exhibits an indulgence for the character of Louis XVIII., which, indeed, we cannot think wholly undeserved, he is unsparing in his exposure of the follies of his race, and the creatures by which it was surrounded. On the whole, his work presents a very laboured, clear and dispassionate view of the character of the restored dynasty, and of the causes which brought about its expulsion. In spite of the general carelessness of the style, the slipslop affectation of particular passages, and the profusion of that cant jargon which ren-

ders the present language of French politics a singularly efficient instrument for disguising the want of thought, we should recommend this work as both interesting and instructive, were it not for its extreme length. Of the four volumes already published, one is nearly filled with introductory matter: the other three contain the history of two years and a half, closing with the ordonnance of September, 1816. The promised remainder is to bring down the work to the Revolution of July, 1830, a period which, at the same rate of dilation, would require fifteen more volumes. We doubt whether a conscientious reviewer can recommend the enterprize of such a study to men whose life is limited to threescore and ten years.

It is, however, exceedingly instructive to follow the author in his minute and extensive inquiries into the circumstances that gave to the Restoration its peculiar character. He commences these from a very early date—from the state of things preceding the great Revolution—and describes the character of the nobles who composed and the princes who led the emigration. The character of the Bourbons is the same throughout: the same unmeasured and inflexible pretensions, the same utter ignorance of their age, the same obstinate resistance to the counsels of prudence, the same deficiency in energy and skill in the execution of their plans, drove them from the throne, prolonged their exile, and has ultimately frustrated their restoration. It were enough, indeed, to observe their conduct in exile to convince us of their unfitness to govern France. The first step of the two princes who subsequently composed the restored dynasty was that insane emigration which rendered the continuance of their unhappy brother's reign impossible. They then sounded the tocsin over feudal and bigoted Europe for a war of extermination against their country. They appeared in arms among the invaders, and echoed, or rather prompted, the Duke of Brunswick's threats of totally undoing the work of the Revolution, partitioning France, and punishing as a rebel every Frenchman who dared to defend himself. When the support of foreign bayonets failed them, they speculated on operating a counter-revolution, "*pure et simple*," by the agency of civil war; attempted to lead the Gironde insurrection with the Drapeau Blanc; availed themselves of the support of Toulon to betray its arsenals to the English; fomented the resistance of the priest-led peasantry of La Vendee, and leagued with the Chouans of Brittany. All these attempts failed; the Revolution, in spite of its crimes and terrors, was dear to France; and the Bourbons sacrificed every chance of success by proclaiming their intention of re-establishing the ancient order of things, and of graciously pardoning the Revolution as a crime.

A hope of effecting their return by more peaceful means was inspired by the reaction which followed the fall of Robespierre. A strong feeling prevailed during that time in favour of a recall of the royal family—a feeling no longer confined to a few remote portions of the country, or lurking in the recesses of the old chateaux and the hiding-places of the proscribed priests. Royalist opinions were openly avowed in the representative body, and derived additional strength from every election. Prostrated by military force on the 13th Vendemiaire, the royalist party reared its head again, and professing more moderate and prudent designs, greatly augmented its numbers by uniting with the constitutional party. An attempt to effect the defection of the army under Pichegru was defeated by the folly of the Prince de Condé. Nevertheless, the opinion in favour of a constitutional monarchy acquired a rapid and solid growth. Louis XVIII., the only one of his race who ever profited by experience, saw the necessity of submitting to "transiger avec la Revolution," and signified his consent to a constitutional restoration. The party of the Clichistes counted in its ranks the most popular leaders of the sections, the majority of the legislative councils, a portion of the ministry, and even two of the directors. It was supported by an active periodical press, and if not warmly aided by the enthusiasm of the nation, was backed by the universal discontent against the misgovernment of the Directory. The ambition of Bonaparte detected the strength and designs of the royalists, and the republican army completely destroyed their party by the movement of the 18th Fructidor. It is, perhaps, to be regretted that the Restoration was not operated at this period. It might have been stable—it presented many chances of good government. At that period any attempt to renew the old régime would hardly have been dared, and would most assuredly have been defeated; and even the Bourbons might have been reconciled to exercise their authority on the only terms on which they would have been allowed to possess it.

The blow of the 18th Fructidor was complete: in the subsequent struggles of the Republicans and the Directory, the royalist party never ventured to show its head. The attempts of Louis were confined to vain efforts to obtain the crown from the indolence of Barras and the magnanimity of Bonaparte. But the ambition of Napoleon was proportioned to his power: he had destroyed the liberties of his country for his own benefit, not for that of a family whom his whole education led him to despise. It became obvious that during the existence of his power the return of the Bourbons was not to be expected: the republicans beheld the same insuperable obstacles opposed to the fulfilment

of their plans. Hence the alliance of these two extreme parties, equally weak and equally desperate, and the wretched conspiracies which resulted from their union. Over all these plots the star or the genius of Napoleon triumphed: he escaped the attempts of assassination by which the chivalrous partizans of the altar and the throne sought to rid their sacred cause of its enemy, and triumphed over the conspiracy which was headed by the rival reputations of Moreau and Pichegru. The unscrupulous hostility of the two extreme parties served but to endear Napoleon to the people as their only protector against renewed excesses. His power was daily augmented and consolidated. The murder of the Duc d'Enghien extinguished all the hopes of accommodation which the Bourbons had formed. The struggles of the royalists ceased to agitate the interior, and the only open adherents of the Bourbons were a few companions of their exile, odious to their countrymen as the allies of Brunswick and Suwarrow, as the accomplices of the "brigands" of La Vendee, and stained by the more recent infamy of the Infernal Machine and the robberies of the Chouans.

The power of Napoleon was established. An absolute monarchy was completely organized, and appeared to be firmly propped by skilfully contrived institutions, and the glory of a hundred victories. The exiled dynasty, successively driven from the various states of the subjugated continent, found a last refuge in England. The empire of the usurper appeared alike unassailable by foreign arms or domestic insurrection. Louis XVIII., almost forgotten in his retreat of Hartwell, wisely trusted to the chances of the future. He kept up a secret correspondence with the constitutional party in France, who, banished from all political power, nourished a faint hope of seeing their country relieved from the tyranny of Napoleon. To these he presented himself as the friend of liberty, as the sole person capable of founding a constitutional monarchy. The grinding and degrading despotism of Napoleon daily enlarged the number of those who desired the downfall of his government, and cherished a secret opposition to his measures. Even the system by which the Emperor imagined he was consolidating his throne, served to revive the recollection of the ancient monarchy, and filled up the gulf that separated the nation from the family of its kings. The Catholic Church was restored; and the people were habituated to the daily sight of its ceremonies. The pomp of the ancient court glittered once more; its etiquette was imitated by courtiers as servile as those of the *Grand Monarque*, and the recollections of the early glories of the monarchy were recalled in the rites and language of the imperial institutions. The titles of the feudal ages were revived:

the names of the royalist *noblesse* were associated with the dignities of the empire. The people became familiarized with the persons of a race which had been supposed to be for ever deprived of its old influence. The national horror of the emigration gradually passed away: and the powers and duties of the administration were entrusted to men whose personal or hereditary attachments made them the natural friends of the exiled dynasty.

The star of Napoleon at length paled before the vengeance of united Europe. The Bourbons, who had deplored the "disasters" of Marengo and Hohenlinden, were cheered by the havoc which the Russian campaign made in the armies of their country. Their restoration, however, was not in the contemplation of the allies. The wishes of these powers were limited to securing guarantees against the ambition of Napoleon. Aware of the unpopularity of the emperor, they took care not to excite the national pride in his favor by any attempt to dictate internal institutions to France. They cautiously avoided complicating their designs by any support of the exiled dynasty. No mention was made of their pretensions in the Congress of Prague; no trace, according to our author, exists, of any open or secret proposition for their restoration having been made at the Congress of Manheim, held in December 1813, when the armies of Europe had already passed the frontiers of France. The change of dynasty was effected at the desire and by the advice of Frenchmen.

The ambition of Napoleon had become thoroughly odious in France. The continual burden of his wars, undertaken for no object but the aggrandisement of himself and his race, had impoverished and depopulated the country. Much as we may blame the odious policy of the ancient dynasties of Europe, none of them has practised a tyranny so practically and extensively oppressive, none has sought to crush the spirit of freedom by a more systematic attempt to check the progress of the human intellect. The approach of an enemy suddenly developed the extent of the dissatisfaction which pervaded the nation. The Legislative body broke its long silence, and, by the voice of M. Lainé, demanded of the Emperor peace and institutions that might secure the national liberties. The claims and the privileges of that assembly were insolently spurned; and the Emperor assumed an unrestricted dictatorship. But the signal for opposition was given. Those who hated his tyranny were encouraged to take measures for its downfall. It seemed possible to take such advantage of the crisis, as to save the country from the horrors of conquest, by the same means that would ensure the establishment of

constitutional freedom. The proclamations of the allies declared their friendly intentions towards the French people: security against the ambition of its ruler was professedly, and most probably in truth, their only object. The malcontents of Paris (for by this general term alone can we describe the union of royalists, constitutionalists, and republicans who combined only in desiring the downfall of Napoleon) were willing to treat with the enemy in order to secure their object. M. de Talleyrand, then in the full vigour and glory of his diplomatic abilities, connected with the ministers and even monarchs of the allied powers by relations of long standing, and endeared equally to his countrymen and to foreigners by a disgrace brought on him by his opposition to the ambitious designs of the Emperor, was the organ of these communications. The restoration of the Bourbons appears to have been from the first his design. He pursued it with consummate skill, at the same time with that indifference which rendered it always easy for him to abandon a falling cause, without the appearance or even the annoyance of a defeat. In his direct communications with the allies, he represented the discontent against Napoleon as universal: he held out the establishment of constitutional government in France as the only security for the repose of the Continent. It was but as one of various combinations by which this end might be attained, that he mentioned the recall of the Bourbons. It is said by the "Homme d' Etat," that he did at the same time conduct a subordinate intrigue through the agency of M. de Virtolles, with the sole and direct object of procuring their restoration. This scheme however met with but little success. The allied leaders trusted in the assurances of the general support of the French nation, in their purpose of destroying or limiting the authority of Napoleon: and in this hope they ventured to march on to Paris. Nothing leads us to suppose that they had then determined on the form of government to be substituted for the imperial constitution.

Our author gives a minute and interesting account of the train of negociations that followed the capitulation of Paris. The details with which he has furnished us show clearly that the Bourbons were not imposed on France by the arms of foreign monarchs, or even very much in accordance with their wishes. The events by which the Restoration was brought about, are reported to the same effect, by all the witnesses on whom we can rely. The venturous march of the allies had placed them in a hazardous position. With 120,000 men they occupied Paris, which 25,000 troops, and the National Guard had defended against them for several hours. Napoleon was approaching with an army of 50 or 60 thousand of his best soldiers. He relied on the terror of his

name, and the aid of the warlike inhabitants of the Parisian Fauxbourgs. The safety of the allies depended on their being able to deprive him of the aid of popular insurrection. To win the favour of the French people, to have the support of a government, strong in solid popularity, was their policy; the restoration of feudal government was a matter for which they did not concern themselves.

The news had arrived of the entry of the Duc d'Angoulême with the English army into Bordeaux, and of the proclamation of Louis XVIII. in that city. This event, however, had not spread the enthusiasm. The sentimental procession of M. de Chateaubriand, the Polignacs, and a dozen other emigrants, to which the loyal M. Lacretelle inclines to attribute the Restoration, had excited only the mute amazement or ridicule of the crowd that came to gaze on the entrance of the Allies. The National Guard had refused to mount the white cockade. The Emperor Alexander, on whose decision the fate of the different parties seemed to hang, alighted at the hotel of M. de Talleyrand, with a conviction of the impossibility of restoring the Bourbons.

To proceed immediately to that end, was not the wish, nor was it in the power, of M. de Talleyrand. On the 31st of March, the day of the entry of the allies, after a long conference between the Emperor Alexander, the King of Prussia, the ministers of the other powers, M. de Talleyrand, and some others who had entered into his views, the allied monarchs, after great difficulties on the part of Alexander, signed and made public a declaration, " that they would not treat with Napoleon or any of his family; that they would respect the ancient limits of the French territory; that they would recognize and guarantee any constitution which the French nation might adopt;" concluding with an invitation to the Senate " to name a provisional government and prepare a constitution." The Senate had been selected by Talleyrand as a body easily manageable, and possessing an apparent constitutional authority to operate the intended change. On the 1st of April, the Senate met, and, on the proposition of Talleyrand, all parties concurred in naming a provisional government, which was composed of MM. de Talleyrand, de Beurnonville, de Jaucourt, the Duke D'Alberg, and the âbbé de Montesquieu: on the 2nd, the deposition of Napoleon was as unanimously declared.

Napoleon had in the mean time collected his forces at Fontainbleau, and was preparing for an attack on Paris, when the news of the deposition pronounced by the Senate arrived. The marshals determined to inform him of the hopeless state of his army, and to impress on him, as the only resource, the necessity of abdi-

cating in favour of his son. It was by the persuasion of Marshal Macdonald and M. de Caulaincourt, that he was at length induced to sign his abdication. This was on the 4th of April. On the 5th the marshals arrived in Paris, to advocate the succession of Napoleon II., with the regency of the Empress Maria Louisa. The return of the Bourbons was now the avowed object of M. de Talleyrand and the principal persons who had pronounced the deposition of Napoleon. Some few of the addresses from the great public bodies had expressed a wish for a ruler of the ancient dynasty. M. de Chateaubriand's pamphlet of "Bonaparte et les Bourbons," had been circulated with excessive rapidity, and excited considerable enthusiasm in favour of the royal cause. The general tendency of the liberated periodical press was strongly in the same direction. The public mind, that of the higher and middling classes in particular, inclined to the Restoration, as the best guarantee for a system of order and freedom. The allied monarchs had begun to look on it as the only security for those, who, trusting to their promises, had compromised themselves with Napoleon and his family. The earnest eloquence of Macdonald, when pleading for the race of his great chieftain, appears to have revived for a while the ardent admiraration which Alexander had once felt for Napoleon; but the arguments of Talleyrand subsequently prevailed, and the allies rejected the proposition of the marshals. The next day, arrived the news of the defection of Marmont, which completely broke up the military power of Napoleon. The cause of the Imperial race could no longer be sustained: its adherents were contented with the terms which the treaty of Fontainbleau secured to Napoleon.

The Senate, relieved from their first fears of an interruption on the part of Napoleon, occupied themselves in discussing the plan of the constitution. The restoration of the Bourbons was assented to by all parties: the great principles of a mixed constitutional form of government were unanimously agreed to. The triumph of the royalists, however, led them to adopt a high monarchical tone; and the âbbé de Montesquieu, in opposition to some articles of the proposed constitutional declaration, used language and avowed principles savouring so strongly of the ancient régime, as very nearly to deter the Senate from carrying through the measure. Concessions were, however, made, and on the 7th of April, appeared the *Acte Constitutionnel* of the Senate, recalling Louis *as the brother of the last king*, and after the various constitutional articles, (among which the payment of the pensions of the Senators held an equal rank) it was declared, that Louis should

be proclaimed King of the French, *as soon as he had sworn to the constitution.*

By this act, to which all the constituted authorities speedily sent in their adhesion, the restoration was achieved. The revolution thus effected was one in which the nation played merely a passive part. The agents were M. de Talleyrand, and the Senate acting under his direction. The Imperial authorities throughout the country transferred their allegiance from Napoleon to the provisional government, and subsequently to Louis XVIII.: and thus the new government found itself supported by a strongly constituted administrative body. The duties of government were discharged as before; the supreme authority alone being changed. The people obeyed as before; took no active part, but every where testified their entire satisfaction with what had been done. If the restoration of the Bourbons was the sole or chief object of his exertions, the measures of M. de Talleyrand were combined with a skill worthy of his great reputation: if, however, the establishment of constitutional government was an object which he had equally at heart, his measures were not so skilfully contrived for that purpose as for the other: it may be doubted even, whether some of them did not defeat such views. The notorious servility and glaring interestedness of the Senators had rendered them highly unpopular; and it was easy for the royalists to discredit the acts of a body which had no hold on public opinion. M. de Talleyrand should have secured a more solemn expression of the public will, and taken care to collect a representative body which might have had the power of enforcing the unqualified assent of Louis to the conditions attached to his recall. By his apparent devotion to the cause of the Bourbons, he deprived himself entirely of the support of those whose first object was the securing a constitution; and was consequently thrown completely into the power of the royalists. Hence that party obtained from the first an influence which was quite incompatible with the system of M. de Talleyrand. At their instance, the provisional government was induced to adopt as the national colour the white of the Bourbons, in place of the glorious tricolor: a change of considerable importance, as marking the intention of the royal family to connect their dynasty rather with the ancient monarchy than the new constitution. In various parts of France the royalists committed gross excesses: the Charter was attacked in their writings, denounced by the priests in their sermons, and even publicly burnt by the hands of the executioner. The Count d'Artois, who arrived in Paris on the 12th of April, elated by the enthusiasm with which he had been received, both in the provinces and the capital, would hardly con-

sent to receive from the Senate the title and authority of Lieutenant General of the kingdom, which he claimed as his appanage. It was with difficulty that M. de Talleyrand could restrain him from an open rupture with that body. When he consented at last to adopt a more prudent line of conduct, he showed that it was not from respect to the advice of those who had recalled his family, or, from a desire to consult the wishes of the people; but solely as a concession to the necessity imposed by the yet unsettled state of France. He employed himself chiefly in giving away white cockades, and talking of the "panache blanc," to every one who came near him. The only public acts of his government were of a nature to render it thoroughly unpopular—arbitrary ordinances of taxation, and the treaty of the 23rd of April, whereby he ceded to the allies all the strong places possessed by France beyond the limits of the monarchy in 1792, together with the immense arsenals and materials contained in them. In both of these instances he acted under the advice of M. de Talleyrand, but bore the undivided unpopularity.

On the arrival of Louis in France, he was every where immediately acknowledged as king, in spite of the previous condition attached by the Senate to his proclamation. It became speedily obvious that it was not his intention to accept the crown as the gift of his people, or the price of a constitutional compact. The spirit of concession, the perception of the necessities of the times, the sincere aversion for the extravagant notions of the ultra-royalists which marked a subsequent portion of his reign, can no where be discerned in his conduct on assuming power. From the first he appears to have been anxious that his reign should be considered the sequel of the ancient monarchy. In the conferences which he held with the Senate and the provisional government, he showed the most singular pertinacity in insisting on all trifles that might mark this determination. The constitutional title of King of the French was rejected for the feudal falsehood of King of France and Navarre; the facts of the revolution, and of the existence during a quarter of a century of various forms of government, were denied in the very title which he bore and the dates of all his public acts. Louis XVI. was the last king whom the French nation had obeyed; his successor assumed the title of Louis XVIII., in order to show that the imperishable rights of his dynasty had entitled the unhappy boy who was designated as Louis XVII. to the allegiance of the usurpers who confined him in a dungeon or employed him in a cobler's stall; and the year of his accession was described as the twelfth of his reign, in order to show that his hereditary possession of royalty had commenced while he was an exile, and the pensioner of Russia. In the matter

of the most vital importance he displayed an equally mischievous obstinacy. Determined to make the concessions which he found necessary after the fashion and in keeping with the prerogative of the ancient monarchy, he flung away (as is justly remarked by the Homme d'Etat) an opportunity of nationalising his race by linking its authority with the establishment of constitutional freedom. The Charter must emanate from the generosity of legitimate absolutism; it must be given—not accepted—by the monarch. For this purpose the declaration of St. Ouen was substituted for the acceptance of the "Acte Constitutionnel," the imperfections of which were made the pretext of delaying the establishment of a constitution until its details might be revised by the wisdom of the monarch. Thus did Louis fix on his very assumption of power the stamp of arbitrary principles and bad faith. The popularity of the Restoration experienced a sudden check. The entry of the king into Paris presented a mournful contrast to the enthusiastic reception of his brother. Few cries of "Vive le Roi" were heard; but the aspect of the stern and mournful procession of the veterans of Napoleon excited enthusiastic shouts of "Vive la Garde." M. Lacretelle tells us that the multitude gazed with a "vif interet" on the "Orphan of the Temple:" the Homme d'Etat appears to think that the spectators were employed in quizzing her royal highness's old-fashioned dress, and the ungainly movements of her royal and noble companions.

"Thus after twenty-five years of exile, Louis XVIII. re-entered the Tuileries; all was changed in the country—manners, institutions, and religious feeling. A new generation was born and growing up under the shade of the opinions and ideas of the French revolution; the government of the Restoration was about to find itself placed in difficult circumstances; it had to make men forget its origin, derived, if not from foreigners, at least from the circumstance of the invasion and the misfortunes of France; it was necessary not to fail in gratitude for the services of a faithful emigration, and not to come in collision with new interests as legitimate; an old court and young France, the Emigration and the Revolution were to be in each other's presence; never had a government found itself in a more delicate position: statesmen and the foreign sovereigns themselves could not dissemble this."—*Histoire, &c. par l'Homme d'Etat*, vol. i. p. 403.

The situation was one certainly which required prudence and good faith on the part of the king: had Louis exhibited as much of these qualities as he did when at a subsequent period he resolutely checked the extravagance of the ultra-royalists, the course of his government would have commenced and proceeded smoothly, he would not have given his restoration the character of a counter-revolution, or experienced within ten months a second expulsion brought about by his own misconduct.

The errors of the first Restoration are easily enumerated. The throne of the Bourbons was instantly surrounded by all the unclean vermin of a court. First and foremost appeared the faithful companions of their exile, the men who had sealed by long suffering the testimony of their ignorant bigotry and hatred of improvement—who had left their country rather than see it free—who returned to it in the hope of seeing it once more subjected to the antique form of tyranny. Forth from their remote recesses came the royalists of the provinces, whose wounded pride or incapacity not even the largesses of Napoleon could tempt into facing the loathed competition of " roturier" merit. To these were joined others who had taken the pay, and humbly done the bidding of Napoleon: who approved of the restoration as a mere transition from one despotism to another, and substituting the cant of the " sang de St. Louis" for that of the " devouement au plus beau génie du monde," offered to the restoration the services of their approved baseness. Among the royalists, there were no doubt virtuous and even reflecting men; such men as the Duc de Richelieu, who realized the fabled high-mindedness of Noblesse, and the honest though timid Doctrinaires. But the bulk of the royalists was impelled by violent prejudices or sordid selfishness; by revenge, or fanaticism, or avarice. Boundless were the expressions of attachment to the monarch, and of hatred to the friends of liberty—unceasing the cry for power, and undisguised the threats of undoing the work of the revolution. The charter was derided by all, openly attacked and opposed by others; it became a fashion among the extravagant royalists to pronounce the words " la Charte," with a peculiar sarcastic intonation. The priests were encouraged to reclaim their lost possessions, and insult the nation by an attempt to revive their odious dominion. The Senate made itself the willing instrument of misrule; the only merit of the representative body was that the majority that betrayed the country was opposed by a large and bold minority. The cabinet of Talleyrand could not coerce these elements of evil: the ministers presided over their several departments; but the favourite and confidential adviser of Louis was the weak and bigoted emigrant, the Count de Blacas.

Under the advice of these counsellors, every step taken by the government was calculated to alarm and disgust the nation. Dress, manners, forms, all startled the people as so many ridiculous " vielleries," (an admirable word, frequently and appropriately used by our author): and all moreover excited after the first smile a perpetually increasing alarm of attempts to revive the pretensions of the ancient monarchy. Above all, the most exceeding disgust was occasioned by the increased activity of the

priests, and the sanction afforded by the government to their impertinent meddling. The restored Bourbons never could be made to understand the nature of the immense change which the revolution had wrought in the religious feelings of their countrymen: they could not for a long time see the palpable fact of the general indifference of the national mind to religion, its aversion to the discipline, its contempt for the ceremonies of the Church of Rome; and when they could not disguise from themselves the existence of such a state of feeling, they set about correcting it by childishly ill-contrived expedients. Such were the ordinances issued by Beugnot as Minister of Police, enforcing the strict observance of the Sabbath. The greatest ferment was excited by the bigotry of a priest, who ventured on reviving one of the most revolting barbarisms of the Gallican Church, in refusing Christian burial to the actress, Mademoiselle Raucourt. The perpetual mournings for Louis XVI. were worse than ridiculous—they pronounced a continual sentence of condemnation on France, for an act to which the whole nation had at least consented. A similar error of judgment was exhibited in the erection of monuments to Pichegru and the Chouans who fell at Quiberon. Great mischief was done in the provinces by the ultra-royalist commissioners originally sent by Monsieur. The army was discontented at the intrusion of emigrant officers, the change of its glorious eagles and colours, the establishment of a royal military household in the style of the ancient monarchy, the appointment of Dupont of Baylen as Minister of War, the introduction of chaplains into the regiments, the insults offered by the royal family to some of its best officers, and still more by the prospect of a long peace. The Congress of Vienna, at which M. de Talleyrand was accused of sacrificing the honour and interests of France to his selfish desire of obtaining the favour of the allied monarchs, excited a general irritation. But the greatest distrust was occasioned by the proceedings of the government in the legislative bodies. A charter adopted after a few deliberations, in which M. de Montesquieu put a stop to all discussion by denouncing an irrevocable decision of the king in favour of every disputed article, was "octroyée" by the king, and explained in a speech of the Chancellor D'Ambray, in which it was insultingly styled an Ordonnance of Reformation. This charter was immediately violated, or grossly evaded, by the establishment of a Censorship. Still greater alarm was caused by the law which restored to the emigrants such of their confiscated property as had not been sold or granted away. This was regarded as a step to the restitution of that portion of their property which had passed into the hands of individuals; and a natural alarm was generally excited among

all the holders of national property. The peasantry expected with dread the return of their seigneur and curé, and the consequent establishment of seignorial rights, and of that impost, the most universally detested by every civilized people, the tithe. The dissatisfaction spread daily and increased in intensity. The king himself divined its existence, and became alarmed; he was anxious to take better advisers, and even desired to profit by the counsels tendered him by the leaders of the liberal party. But the influence of his brother and the court terrified and enslaved the weak monarch. Fouché and Barras were repulsed from his presence, because the Duchesse d'Angoulême was to fall "roide morte" at the sight of a regicide: and up to the very landing of Napoleon the court were amused and betrayed by the reports in which MM. de Blacas and Beugnot depicted, in the cant of their party, the growing affection of the people for the race of St. Louis.

M. Lacretelle explains the successful return of the Ex-Emperor by the phrase "Un jour de delire dans une grande armée amena cette crise:" and it is a common notion that this revolution was effected by the mere mutiny of the army. This is not the case. It was no doubt the army that decided the fate of the struggle: but it is perfectly certain that a large portion of the nation had been so thoroughly exasperated by the folly of the Bourbons and their adherents, as to hail the return of Napoleon with delight. In Dauphiné this feeling was particularly strong. It existed with great force in Burgundy, Champagne, all the Eastern and North Eastern Provinces, and among the middling classes in the West. Normandy and other portions of the North preferred the Bourbons: but their chief strength was in the South. In Paris, the commercial and trading classes were generally well inclined to the king: the bankers and some leading mercantile men, who despaired of attaining the same distinction in the Royal as in the Imperial Court, sided with Napoleon: and the formidable mass of the workmen declared itself strongly in his favour. The leaders of the liberal party, who had certainly taken no part in recalling him, and had denounced his attempt, yielded without much reluctance to his overtures, and appear to have thought that even his authority was more compatible with constitutional freedom than that of Louis XVIII.

Nevertheless, during the Hundred Days the nation did not trust Napoleon. They knew that he was as much disqualified by personal character to be the head of a limited monarchy, as the Bourbons were by their attachment to the ideas of other times. They knew that his selfish love of power, his low ambition for the aggrandizement of his race, even his lofty impatience of sub-

mitting the conceptions of his genius to the controul of opinion, unfitted him for the yoke of representative government. When they saw him again in military possession of the capital and the country, they endeavoured to bribe him over to patriotism by the promise of national support. But they could not but see the impatience with which he humbled himself before his people in his hour of need, and his longings for the success that might render him independent of popular aid. Still did he attach himself to the forms and splendour which had rendered the Imperial Court odious to thinking people: still did he gather round him the base and ignorant counsellors to whose subservience he was accustomed; still relying on the support of the army and the recollections of those glories which had desolated France, he fancied himself necessary to his country, and lavished his contempt on the dreamers who ventured to cherish the idea of constitutional restrictions on the authority of "the only representative of the nation." He had indeed profited as little by exile as the very Bourbons whose prejudices he derided. He had learned nothing —had forgotten nothing. He recollected the delight with which the people, wearied by the revolution, had cast themselves beneath the protection of his sword: their pride in his ancient victories: their admiration of the splendour of his court. He forgot how severely he had taught them the curse of a military despotism, the horrors of both triumphant and disastrous wars, the oppression of courtly pomp. He submitted to temporary restraint, in the hope of ultimately being enabled once more to exercise the "vieux bras de l'empereur." And this the people saw. They knew him to be as false as he was imperious: and even while they supported him against the dynasty which relied on foreign bayonets, they denied him the powerful aid which would have placed their liberties at his mercy.

The Second Restoration was effected by the avowed dictation of the foreign armies. After the disaster of Waterloo, two courses were open to the Chambers, which then assumed the supreme authority. They might, as was the advice of Carnot, have rallied round Napoleon as the defender of the national independence, investing him with the powers of a Committee of Public Safety, and letting loose the old enthusiasm of '93; or, if they dreaded so perilous an attempt, their only alternative was an immediate submission to the Bourbons. The incapacity of the Chambers deprived the nation of the advantages of either system; they forced Napoleon to abdicate, and then, imagining that they could take his place in organising a military resistance to the victorious allies, declared their settled determination against the recall of the Bourbons. The whole executive authority meanwhile rested in

the hands of Fouché, who instantly resolved on treating with the allies, and bringing about the restoration of Louis XVIII., with improved guarantees for liberty. In order to put a stop to the struggles of the various violent parties which divided the capital, Fouché hastened, by urgent entreaties, the arrival of the English and Prussians, and Paris was placed in their hands. The Chambers, while deliberating on the articles of a constitution, were turned out of doors by a piquet of Prussian landwehr. The king was brought back by Fouché, after negociations in which he gave hopes of every concession, but would bind himself to none; and when once securely re-seated on his throne, deceived Fouché as he had previously deceived Talleyrand, and retained every odious badge and every alarming pretension of the Restoration.

The combined ministry of Talleyrand and Fouché had the arduous task of conducting the country through the perils of a restoration and a hostile occupation. The chief merit of these experienced ministers was their aversion to violence, and the earnestness with which they opposed themselves to the excesses of the dominant party. Unfortunately, however, their position was too weak to enable them to maintain their own system of administration. Odious to the liberals, who considered them as having betrayed them to a despot, they were distrusted by the royalists as men of revolutionary rise and principles; and they were displaced by the clamour of the court, after attempting in vain to purchase its forbearance by dishonourable concessions.

The history of the first year of the Second Restoration exhibits a melancholy picture of misrule and disorder. It was a year of terrible re-action. Hardly was the power of Napoleon destroyed, before his troops and commanders were attacked by the royalist bands of the South. The signal of insurrection and murder was given at Marseilles. Soon after, the veteran Marshal Brunel renowned as the conqueror of Holland in the time of the republic, fell a victim to the sanguinary rabble of Avignon. General Ramel was murdered at Toulouse, where the mob was countenanced or tolerated by the mayor, M. de Villèle. At Nismes the disarmed garrison were assassinated by the royalist volunteers; the department of the Gard was for some months agitated by the excesses which the triumphant Catholics directed against the Protestants; the most horrible murder and rapine continued for a long time unchecked; and it was not before the end of the autumn that the remonstrances of Prussia and England, and the attempt to assassinate the general in command, caused rigorous measures to be taken against the authors of these outrages.

It must be confessed that no party has been in the practice of making more frequent and bloody use of the angry passions of the

mob, than those ardent partisans of church and state, who denounce their outrages so bitterly when they happen to be directed against themselves. The massacres of the South were tolerated, if not instigated, by the government; their authors were acquitted by the courts of justice. The example of their perpetrators was the theme of admiration in the circle of the Count d'Artois; and the fair royalists of the Fauxbourg St. Germain repeated with pride and sympathy the names and the butcheries of Trestaillons and his associates.

The prodigious activity of the royalist committees had given their party throughout the kingdom the utmost possible developement; in the South and West it had acquired a most compact organization, and in many departments the royalist opinions absolutely predominated. The leaders of the party at Paris had engrossed the nomination of all the most important, down to the humblest offices. Terrified by their sudden downfall in the Hundred Days, and animated by excessive revenge, they took every possible precaution for the maintenance of their power and the prostration of their opponents. The general feeling of the country at first countenanced the royalists in their revenge and in their machinations; for all who desired quiet and freedom were indignant with those who had disturbed the peace of the country, and anxious before all things to prevent a repetition of such attempts. The system of election adopted by the ministers in the ordonnance which convoked a new Chamber, placed the whole power in the hands of the royalist party. It had been intended by giving the prefects the absolute controul of the elections, to secure the nomination of deputies devoted to the ministry. But the activity of the royalist committees had given them the command of the provincial authorities, and the elections went entirely in their favour.

In the mean time the work of judicial vengeance had commenced. Two ordonnances had been issued by the king on his arrival in Paris, one arbitrarily exiling persons who had taken an active part in the Hundred Days, another ordering the rigorous prosecution of the most obnoxious. The first victim of his own rashness and royalist revenge was Labedoyère. The trials of Lavalette and Ney took place under the ministry of Richelieu. The legal guilt of Ney is indubitable; it does not appear, indeed, that he had taken part in any previous conspiracy to bring about the return of Napoleon, but his baseness in betraying the trust which he had obtained by his professions of attachment to the Bourbons was of the most odious kind. The impolicy of the execution was, however, most glaring. No danger was to be apprehended from Ney. His conduct during the Hundred Days had completely forfeited his reputation; his execution raised

him into a martyr. The French people imagined that he was sacrificed in expiation of his former exploits; that the hero of the Beresina was murdered for the gratification of the Russians and the English. The unnecessary cruelty exercised towards him was aggravated by bad faith. There is no doubt that Ney, who was previously preparing for flight, imagined himself saved by the Convention of Paris, and that a similar interpretation was put on that treaty by Davoust and the other military chiefs. The allies, whose armies were possibly saved from destruction by the Convention of Paris; and Louis, who owed to it a safe and bloodless re-entry into his capital, were equally bound to extend its provisions to all who had imagined themselves secured by it. The execution of Ney leaves a stain on the magnanimity of the allied commanders, who were bound to secure the most mild interpretation to the articles of the Convention. The conduct of Louis not only dishonoured himself, but forfeited the popularity of his dynasty. The execution of the Bonapartist commanders disgusted a people who hold judicial bloodshed in singular horror, and turned the popular feeling against the family which thought it necessary to guard its power by the slaughter of its opponents. How deep and unextinguishable was the hatred which these acts excited may be seen in the acrimony with which they are still spoken of by Frenchmen. It is obvious that the late abolition of hereditary peerage was in some measure caused by the animosity of the people to the judges of Ney.

But the greatest suffering was caused by the invading armies. As a just and memorable retribution for the cruelty and insolence of their conduct when in possession of neighbouring countries and capitals, it is impossible not to look with some degree of satisfaction on the sufferings of the French in 1814 and 1815, and to indulge a hope (faint as it must be) that the bitter experience of invasion may serve to check their barbarous rage for conquest. But preposterous as we may consider the indignation expressed by the French at excesses and insults not to be compared to those which their own soldiery had inflicted on conquered countries, we cannot wonder that the sufferers felt exasperated at the time, and that the presence of the allies was most injurious to the popularity of the dynasty which they had restored. Armies amounting to 1,100,000 men occupied the greater part of the territory of France. The burden of the contributions raised for the support of this enormous host was aggravated by the outrages and rapine from which the soldiery could not be restrained. Many of the foreign commanders exhibited little respect for the feelings or laws of the conquered country. Three prefects were seized and carried away to foreign prisons, for venturing to oppose the dis-

orders of the "*hordes liberatrices;*" and the insult was aggravated by their happening to be near relatives of three of the ministers. The city of Paris was placed under a Prussian governor. The noble specimens of the fine arts, which had been plundered from every conquered country, were retaken by their triumphant proprietors. It was with difficulty that the finest buildings of Paris could be saved from the rage of the nations whose defeats their names commemorated. To such a pitch was the indignation of the French people raised, that even the royalist insurgents of La Vendée offered to co-operate with the army of the Loire in attempting the expulsion of the invaders; and Louis was more than once induced to oppose the exorbitant demands of the allies, by the threat of placing himself at the head of that army, or even its disbanded fragments, and rousing a national resistance against the oppressors of the monarchy. To secure peace and rid the country of its liberators was the object of Talleyrand's labours; but his negotiations were eminently unsuccessful. The Emperor Alexander, who bore him a grudge for his intrigues at the Congress of Vienna, pushed his demands to the utmost, in order to ensure his downfall; and he succeeded. Convinced of the impossibility of withstanding the royalist Chamber, the secret intrigues of the Comte d'Artois, and the personal dislike of the king, M. de Talleyrand resigned, on the ground of his aversion to the dishonourable terms imposed by the allies; he was followed by the whole cabinet, except Fouché, who had been forced to resign a few days before, after obtaining considerable popularity by two admirable reports on the state of the country, of which some extracts are given (vol. iii. pp. 62—72) well worth the attention of our readers. The appointment of the Duc de Richelieu, the personal friend of Alexander, smoothed the course of negociations with the allies. Their demands were gradually moderated, and on the 20th of November the Duc de Richelieu signed the Treaty of Paris, by which peace was restored, and the country relieved from the greater part of its invaders, on terms humiliating and oppressive no doubt, but far more more moderate than those which the victorious rulers of France had been used to impose on their conquered enemies.

The meeting of the newly-elected Chamber, which has since been always known by the name given to it by the king, that of the "Chambre Introuvable," took place before the conclusion of the treaty of Paris. From the first instant of its assemblage, it was obvious that its composition was such as to promise little tranquillity to France. The liberal minority, amounting to somewhat fewer than fifty, was composed of the "Doctrinaires," a party zealously attached to royal prerogative and aristocratical

institutions, but desirous of maintaining the Charter. The rest of the Chamber was wholly of the Ultra-Royalist party, a portion of which was willing to submit to the wishes of the king, and generally ranged itself on the side of the ministers; but the remainder, constituting, except on a few occasions, the majority of the Chamber, acted under the guidance of MM. de Villèle and de la Bourdonnaye, and followed a settled plan of pushing to the utmost extreme a fanatical hostility to the Revolution. Some of the acts of this Chamber seem to merit for it the character of a Convention of Royalists, endeavouring by a Reign of Terror to effect a counter-revolution. The excess of its fanaticism, and the audacity of its designs and conduct, distinguish it from the other Royalist Chambers. There was more of principle, more of independence, more, though little enough, of personal honesty in it than in the Septennial Chamber of Villèle. Its tendencies were even more decidedly religious and aristocratic than royalist. Its two objects were to found a powerful clergy, and to concentrate the power of government in the hands of the local aristocracies; when thwarted in these by the ministers, it turned its hostility against them, and endeavoured to force the king to sacrifice them to its resentment.

"La Chambre de 1815," says the Homme d'Etat, "fut le triste et déplorable fruit de cette époque, temps de réactions et d'agitations publiques. La majorité fut surtout ignorante, incapable, empreinte de je ne sais quel esprit de gentilhommerie et de province: aux vieilles idées de l'ancien régime elle mêla des velléités d'indépendance, non point grande et philosophique, comme la marche du siècle l'enseignait aux générations nouvelles, mais de cette indépendance de château, de cette mauvaise humeur religieuse et féodale qui faisait rétrograder la société de deux siècles. C'est ainsi qu'elle voulut un clergé propriétaire, maître de l'etat civil et de l'éducation publique, parcequ'elle prétendait fonder l'édifice social sur le principe religieux, dernier entrainement de l'esprit de parti, qui méconnaissait son siècle avec son indifférence."—vol. iii. p. 186.

The first propositions of the ministry were acceptable to the Chamber. The laws suspending personal liberty, and establishing the censorship and the Cours Prévôtales, were passed by large majorities, who only altered them to make them more severe. The cruel law against seditious cries was adopted, after a strenuous effort to substitute the punishment of death for that of deportation, which M. Barbé-Marbois obviated by demonstrating, to the satisfaction of the majority, that the latter was in fact the most atrocious punishment of the two. This minister, and Corvetto, minister of finances, were especially in disfavour with the Chamber. M. Decazes has the merit of having broken with the

Chamber, which was inclined at first to regard him with great friendliness, and to have used his influence with the Duc de Richelieu, and his growing favour with the king, to inspire them with a resolution of resisting its violence. The first open hostility between the ministry and the Chamber occurred on the law of amnesty. M. de la Bourdonnaye proposed his famous categories, by which different classes of political offenders were to be excepted from the amnesty, including about 1,100 names, amongst whom were the most illustrious individuals in France. The law proposed by the ministers merely legalized the ordonnances of proscription issued in July, adding to the number of the banished the family of Bonaparte. The report of M. Corbières proposed to amend this law by the substitution of a modification of the categories of M. de la Bourdonnaye, and the additional confiscation of the property of the proscribed, in defiance of the article of the charter expressly abolishing that feudal punishment. The ministers strenuously opposed these alterations, and succeeded, by a majority of nine, in obtaining their rejection: they were obliged to concede the banishment of the regicides who had joined Bonaparte in the Hundred Days, and the law, happily for the peace of France, passed with only this alteration.

The law of elections, the details of which the charter had left open to future legislation, was the great trial of strength between the ministers and the Ultra-Royalist majority. A most objectionable project, presented by M. Vaublanc, minister of the interior, the palpable object of which was to place the elections wholly in the hands of the government, was replaced by an entirely new proposition, substituted for it by the reporter, M. de Villèle. The electoral system proposed by the Ultra-Royalists is singular from its apparently democratic character, and its utter inconsistency with the system adopted by that party, in the modifications which they subsequently effected. The proposed basis was most extensive, the candidates being required to obtain a previous nomination from a body composed of all persons paying fifty francs of direct contributions. M. de Corbières would have preferred a reduction of the qualification to twenty-five francs, and M. Michaud adduced the best arguments in favour of universal suffrage. The advocacy of such plans by those whose influence would have been, as far as we can judge, inevitably destroyed by the proposed extension of the franchise, strikes us as a singular instance of the delusions by which parties frequently ruin themselves. The actual choice of deputies, it is true, was to be made by the electoral college of the department, consisting of persons paying 300 francs, out of the candidates presented by the larger body of electors; but this departmental college itself was to be in a great

measure composed of persons elected by the minor colleges. Bold as were the attempts frequently made by the ultra-royalists to court popularity, by an advocacy of democratic measures utterly incompatible with their general policy, it is not probable that they would have ventured for such a purpose, to trifle with a matter of so permanent an importance as a law of elections. It is more probable that they entertained hopes of being able to obtain the entire controul over the lower class of voters, whom their poverty would have rendered in some parts of the country accessible to the bribes or threats of the great proprietors, and who were in some districts very much under the guidance of the priests.* It is possible that these calculations might for a time have been found correct, as the extreme smallness of the cantonal assemblies would, in a great measure, have nullified the operation of the ballot. After all, however, the influence of the priests and the nobles extends to a very small portion of France; and this would have been entirely neutralized by the strong action of liberal opinions among the lower and middling orders in the greater part of the country, especially if the royalists had ventured on that abuse of power by which they subsequently excited a national resistance to their measures. The commission also proposed, as another amendment of the ministerial project, the substitution of an integral quinquennial renewal of the Chamber, for the annual renewal of one-fifth, established by the Charter. The choice between these two systems was for many years a matter of great contention between parties. In the Deputies the project of M. de Villèle was triumphantly carried, in spite of the united efforts of the ministers and the doctrinaires. It was thrown out by the Chamber of Peers: and as a temporary project for the regulation of the elections of the year was rejected by the Deputies, France was left without any electoral law.

The rupture between the ministers and the Chamber of Deputies was now declared. The Chamber laboured to erect a powerful and proprietary church establishment. A law was passed allowing the church to receive donations from individuals, even such as had been extorted from the dying by their confessors. To devote to the clergy a portion of land to provide for its expenses, did not then appear feasible: but the attempts made to lay the foundations of such a system, and in the mean time to aug-

* "Il n'y a de possibilité," said M. de Villèle, "d'arriver à un resultat de liberté, et de liberté royaliste, qu'en descendant au dernier degré de la hiérarchie sociale, et en réveillant ses intimités avec l'aristocratie." These intimacies, when awakened, seem hardly to be of the kindliest nature; nevertheless, the royalists appear still to repose great confidence in them, as may be seen in the advocacy of primary assemblies and universal suffrage, by which the *Gazette de France* is endeavouring to effect the restoration of Henri V.

ment that dignity of the established church which is everywhere supposed to depend on its costliness, brought the Chamber into collision with the budget. The plans of the minister of finance were deranged by the refusal of the Chamber to allow the sale of the national woods, which it wished to reserve as a future donation to the church, and by the large additions made to the salaries of the clergy, especially the bishops. The budget, moreover, was subjected to various alterations, showing the hatred of the territorial proprietors, who composed the majority, for the commercial and manufacturing bodies, and gave opportunities for many violent declarations against that system of centralization which increased the importance of Paris over the provinces. In these denunciations no one was so conspicuous as M. de Villèle, who afterwards carried the abuse of centralization to the highest pitch. The Chamber further laboured in the cause of religion and royalty, by establishing the anniversary of the execution of Louis XVI. as a general fast; and for the purpose of promoting religious morality, repealed the existing facilities of divorce, whereby, as M. Lacretelle hints, they gave a great additional stimulus to fornication. Justice to the Chambre Introuvable requires us further to notice the scandalous disorder of its proceedings, which on one occasion, towards the end of the session, compelled M. Lainé to resign the presidency. By none even of the French Chambers, since the Convention, has a disposition to outrage the freedom of debate and the rules of social decorum been carried to such a pitch as by these devotees of order and aristocracy.

It is perfectly obvious that another session of this Chamber would have compromised the existence of the Bourbon dynasty. The conspiracy of Pleignier, and the insurrection at Grenoble, were not events calculated to give the government much alarm; but there were more certain and formidable signs of the growing hostility of the nation to the system pursued by its rulers. The sanguinary proceedings of the Cours Prévôtales had excited a reaction, which saved some of the last and most illustrious victims offered to them.* The staunchest and ablest friends of the Bourbons regretted and blamed the conduct of the fanatical

* Among these were Cambronne and Drouet, both companions of Napoleon's exile in Elba. The former delighted the audience by the military roughness of his answers. The latter had been particularly active in bringing about the submission of the army of the Loire. After his acquittal he retired to his paternal property, a farm in Lorraine, where, rejecting the employments offered him by the Bourbons, he supported himself and an aged mother by the labour of his hands. Since the revolution of 1830, this modern Cincinnatus was called from his vineyard to a high command in the army, by which he was respected as one of its ablest generals. He was raised to the peerage by the present king, and died soon after.

majority of the Chamber. The king was exceedingly offended by their opposition to a policy of which he had marked his approbation; and by their animosity to Decazes, whose insinuating manners and firmness had pleased and encouraged him. Nor was the advice of foreign powers wanting to impel the king to dissolve the Chamber. So alarmed were the allied monarchs, by the apprehension of a second expulsion of the Bourbons and a renewed war, so displeased at the folly which rendered the recurrence of such a catastrophe probable, that it is asserted by the "Homme d'Etat" that they had listened with favour to a plan suggested by the exiles at Brussels, for dethroning the Bourbons, and placing the Prince of Orange on the throne of France. When Richelieu came round to the proposition of Decazes for the dissolution of the Chamber, he applied to the Emperor Alexander for an exertion of his influence with Louis XVIII. The emperor immediately complied with this request, and wrote an autograph letter to Louis, advising the dissolution of the Chamber. The same advice was tendered by most of the ambassadors; and Louis, encouraged by the opinion of foreigners, and the assurances of a general support from the country, yielded to the advice of his cabinet, and issued the famous ordonnance of the 5th of September, whereby he dissolved the Chamber, and summoned a new one to be elected in strict accordance with the system of the charter.

The ordonnance of the 5th of September was deplored by the ultra-royalists as a fatal blow to the monarchy; and the ministers who advised it were represented by them to be the worst of traitors. It was the commencement, indeed, of a system which, while it lasted, proved fatal to their fanatical plans, conciliated the legitimate monarchy with the Charter, and brought the country to a comparatively extraordinary state of tranquillity and wealth. The ultra-royalists entered the Chamber to the number of 100: and in the first year proved a troublesome minority. Every annual renewal, however, replaced some of their body by liberal or ministerial deputies; the former greatly preponderated, their party having abandoned the fruitless game of conspiracy, and united their efforts in securing electoral influence. Among those who successively entered the Chamber were Foy, Manuel, Chauvelin, and Constant. Tranquillity gradually succeeded to the dread of re-actions; and the Charter came to be regarded as a positive security for liberty and order. The repressive laws adopted in the first year of the Restoration were gradually dispensed with. The functions of the Cours Prévôtales ceased. The law suspending personal liberty was continued for one year longer, and having been but little used, was not again renewed. The censorship

was renewed during 1817 and 1818, in spite of the eloquence which M. de Villèle exerted in favour of an entire liberty of the press: during 1819 the press was allowed perfect freedom. A law was adopted to punish offences of the press, which, severe and vague as it was, so displeased the ultra-royalists, as to obtain from them the designation of the *loi athée;* and the offences cognizable under it were submitted to the trial by jury. An election law was adopted in accordance with the plan laid down in the Charter and the ordonnance of September. The National Guard was taken out of the hands of the Comte d'Artois, who, by the power of appointing the officers, had exercised the greatest influence over that body, and had in some places, as at Nîmes, succeeded in bringing it to something of the nature of the royalist volunteers of Spain. The Duc de Richelieu had the good fortune to succeed in shortening by two years the period of the occupation by the allied armies, and in completely liberating the soil of France from its invaders. The payment of the enormous tribute imposed by the treaty of Paris was anticipated by successful financial operations, which evinced the credit and wealth of the country. A national army was organized under the care of Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr; and its future composition regulated by that admirable law bearing his name, which secured the popular constitution of the army from the encroachments subsequently made by the royalists on all other institutions.

To the influence of Decazes the improved policy of this period is almost wholly to be ascribed. The well-intentioned but timid Duc de Richelieu shrunk ere long from the bold course on which he had entered. The great accession to the liberal party, caused by the elections of 1818, scared him with a renewed terror of the preponderance of the Jacobin party; and he insisted on some alterations of the election law. On this subject a conflict arose between him and M. Decazes, which ended in the dissolution of the cabinet. The duke, after a vain attempt to form a fresh ministry, resigned, and the charge was entrusted to Decazes, who was more successful. General Dessolles was placed at the head of the new cabinet, in which, however, Decazes was the real leader, and took the office of Minister of the Interior. A contest immediately arose on the subject of the electoral system. A modification of a slight nature was proposed by M. Barthélemy, and in spite of the warm opposition of the ministers, an address to request the king to propose a new electoral law was carried in the Chamber of Peers. An instant creation of sixty peers reassured a majority to the minister, and proved the attachment of the king to his policy. In the Chamber of Deputies, where M. Lainé, from the chief supporter of the electoral law

had now become its most vehement opponent, the proposition of a change met with no success.

The fortunes of the law of elections were, indeed, most singular. Were we to deduce the usual judgment from the abandonment it successively experienced on the part of all its first supporters, among whom this change of opinion became more decided as experience furnished fresh proofs of the mode in which the law operated, we should be inclined to think that only defects of the most serious nature could have deprived it of the partial approbation of its authors. When we recollect, however, that these successive deserters were the ministers whose power it at various times restricted, and that its adherents among the great mass of the people, instead of diminishing, were constantly on the increase, we may be inclined to think that it lost favour in the eyes of its original creators, only because it proved on trial to be too efficient a protection for the people. The change exhibited by MM. de Richelieu and Lainé was repeated ere the close of the year by MM. Decazes and De Serre, who had distinguished themselves as their most strenuous opponents. The same cause appears to have converted M. Decazes as that which had terrified his predecessor. The result of the renewal of the autumn of 1819 was a still greater triumph on the part of the liberals than even those of the preceding occasions. Another such would have given that party the decided command of the Chamber. M. Decazes, who was anxious to prevent the predominance of either party, saw with alarm that he was on the point of being subjected to one on the gratitude of which he had indeed many claims, but to which he had marked great distrust, and from which he had received numerous manifestations of corresponding suspicion and hostility.

The rupture of Decazes with the Liberals is perhaps the most interesting and most debated point of the reign of Louis XVIII. It occasioned the downfal of that system which had done so much for the prosperity of France, had established tranquillity and constitutional government. It gave rise to a commencement of a second disastrous period of reaction, subjected the country for many years to the oppressive rule of the priests and their faction, and imposed the necessity of the Revolution, which put a violent end to that evil. The blame of this unfortunate event we are at first inclined to throw on the Liberals. It seems natural to accuse them of ingratitude in exerting their power against a minister to whom their cause was so much indebted; and to blame them still more for compromising the interests of their country by too eagerly grasping at a predominance of which a little time and a little prudence would assuredly have put them in possession.

Yet there is very little in their conduct to justify this charge. They had, it is true, made various reductions in the budget of 1819, presented petitions praying for the pardon of the political exiles, proposed different popular alterations in the organization of the police and the national guard, and demanded an improved system of municipal administration. There were none, surely, of these or their other acts which marked so strong a disposition to encroachment as to require an alteration of the law which allowed them admission into the Chamber. Their chief error, perhaps, was the openly opposing the ministerial candidates in the elections, and securing the return of deputies avowedly hostile to M. Decazes' policy. This, however, was the act of the majority of the electors of France; from a body so large it is vain to expect any exhibition of that prudence which consists in dissimulation. It was for M. Decazes to concede to the declared opinion of the electoral body. It might be natural for him to feel provoked at being forced into a change of system, or a resignation, by the opposition of that party which he himself had restored to political power; but his personal wrongs were not to be redressed by a sacrifice of the system, which, up to the moment that it came into collision with his own power, he had supported as necessary to the good government of France. The published portion of the work of the "Homme d'Etat" does not extend to this period, and we are consequently deprived of the information or arguments which M. Decazes or his partizan will doubtless adduce in support of his conduct. Until further revelations are made, the blame of this unfortunate schism must rest rather on M. Decazes than on the Liberals. Greatly superior as was his policy in principles to that of most, in skilfulness of execution to that of all of the ministers of Louis XVIII., we must regret that a contingency arose which showed that he was either incapable of thoroughly understanding representative government, or of sacrificing his system or his power to its maintenance.

The design of altering the election law, and of renewing the laws of exception against the press and personal liberty, was announced at the commencement of the session: the determination of the ministers had been previously manifested by the retirement of Dessolles, St. Cyr, and Louis, from the cabinet. From the very first an open hostility was carried on between the ministry and the left of the Chamber; and the former secured with difficulty a majority on a few occasions by the aid of the Ultra-Royalists, whose language showed, however, that their deep hostility to M. Decazes was in no wise abated. Thus was the exclusion of the Abbé Gregoire carried, and the rejection of the numerous petitions which poured in from every part of France

against any alteration in the law of elections. It was evident, however, that the Royalists were as much as ever bent on the destruction of Decazes: and on the 13th of February, 1820, the assassination of the Duc de Berry gave them the means of effecting their object. The court rung with denunciations of the minister, whose encouragement of the Liberals was said to have led to this catastrophe; even in the Chamber it was proposed by M. Clausel de Coussergues to impeach M. Decazes as an accomplice of the murderer. The weak mind of Louis XVIII. could not stand the urgent entreaties of his family, which turned its misfortune to the profit of its political influence, and he sacrificed the only minister for whose person he had ever felt attachment. M. Decazes remained in office just long enough to introduce the new law of elections and the laws against personal liberty and the press, and was then replaced by the Duc de Richelieu.

The murder of the Duc de Berry was a most fatal event for the liberties of France. Not only did it excite a reaction of the most deplorable nature in the mind of the king, but that reaction extended to the nation, roused the feelings of all men in favour of a family assailed by the assassin, gave confidence and popularity to the royalists, and subjected the liberals to most unjust odium. The assassin Louvel, an ignorant, enthusiastic, melancholy man, declared that he had no accomplices; and that the only suggestion of his crime had proceeded from an internal voice. It is evident that an act, which, not to speak of its atrocity, was in no way calculated to promote the interests of any party, was most probably not the result of a conspiracy: it was doubtless suggested in some of those moody wanderings of the mind which folly oft-times receives as the dictates of something which it calls duty or conscience. No traces of any plot or any accomplice were discovered during the investigations instituted by the police, or the evidence given at the trial: but the crime of the solitary fanatic exercised an extensive influence on the fortunes of his country.

The small band of ultra-royalists in the Chamber now lent their support to the Duc de Richelieu, who had undertaken the mission of restoring the preponderance of the party which he had previously overthrown. The united strength of the ministerial and royalist parties enabled them to gain a triumph over the vigorous opposition of the liberals, who manfully united to resist the commencement of a system of reaction. It is pleasing to record the admirable conduct of the great body of the doctrinaires, who on this occasion did not suffer themselves to be turned from the support of constitutional freedom by any of that timidity, or those theories of a somewhat passive obedience, which have in

other instances fatally influenced their conduct. The laws of exception were carried with great difficulty in the Chamber of Deputies: a still more violent and equal contest occurred on the law of elections, which each party regarded as the death-struggle. The law as prepared by the Duc de Richelieu, (for that of Decazes did not appear to him sufficiently effectual,) added 172 new deputies, who were to be elected by departmental colleges, composed of the fifth of the original electors paying the highest direct contributions: the 258 members of which the Chamber was composed, were still to represent the colleges of the arrondissements of the department as before; these colleges were still to be composed of all persons paying 300 francs of direct contributions; but they were not to be allowed absolutely to elect deputies, but only to present candidates, out of whom the choice was to be made by the departmental colleges. After alternate successes, in which the triumph of each party was decided by the smallest majorities, the establishment of the departmental colleges was carried by a majority of six. A still more obstinate struggle took place on that which involved the system of election of candidates presented by one college to the other; and the ministry consented to give up this, and leave to each class of colleges the independent choice of its own representatives, on condition of allowing the voters of the departmental colleges to retain their vote in those of the arrondissement. The change introduced by this law, was then simply that of adding 172 members elected by the richest portion of the electors, to whom a double vote was thus given: a change inconsistent with the terms of the charter, and calculated to give a most undue preponderance to the great proprietors. The struggle in the Chamber was most violent: the intense interest felt by the nation exhibited itself in the excitement which prevailed in Paris, and which ultimately occasioned tumults of the most serious nature during the course of the discussion.

The fatal change in public opinion occasioned by the murder of the Duc de Berry, was manifested in the ensuing elections. Not only were the 172 members returned by the newly-created departmental colleges, with few exceptions, of one or other of the different shades of the royalist party; but even in the ordinary elections of the fifth for the year, the liberals, instead of continuing the career of success in which they had been advancing for some years, were beaten by their opponents. The command of the Chamber thus now assured to the royalists; and with greater prudence did that party now enter in a career of reaction and counter-revolution: not so violent as that undertaken by the Chambre Introuvable, but destined to last much longer, and subject the

liberties and happiness of France to greater peril. The Duc de Richelieu, whose peculiar supporters were not numerous, retained power for some time by occupying an intermediate position between the two extreme parties. He was inclined to pursue a policy mainly tending in the same direction as that of the ultra-royalists: a concession perhaps involuntarily made to them was the admission of Villèle and Corbières to subordinate situations in his cabinet. His use of power however was moderate: he still discouraged the extravagance of the party to which he had again allied himself. Unsupported however by the vigour of Decazes, he could ill discharge the task of repressing that powerful faction. His ministry served but as a foundation for their future domination, and was dismissed when it was thought practicable to enter on a bolder system of reaction.

The intrigues of the ultra-royalist party had put them in possession of all the subordinate offices of the administration, even before they were enabled to place their leader ostensibly at the head of the government. Under the name of the Congregation, the insidious system of the Jesuits had again found its way into France; and from the establishment at Montrouge, proceeded the ramifications of that mysterious and secret association which comprehended every class of the devotees of legitimacy and priest-craft. The disposal of ministerial patronage became entirely subordinate to the dictates of this occult body: a recommendation from Montrouge was a sure passport to office: its absence as sure a bar to advancement. The various functionaries throughout the country were bound to the Congregation by gratitude for past, or hope of future favours; and fulfilled with eager zeal the orders or wishes of the priesthood. The emissaries of the Jesuits dispersed themselves through the land,

"As thicke as motes in the sunne beame,"

and every commune of France was vexed by the zeal of a curé or a missionary. Discomfort was sedulously brought home to every man's hearth, and the peace of families destroyed by the agency of the confessor. An unrelenting war was carried on against the amusements of the people: the theatre was denounced as incompatible with the ascetical gloom of true devotion; and even the Sunday dance on the village green was prohibited and persecuted. To enumerate these constant vexations, or to describe their maddening effect on the persons subjected to their operation, is not for us to undertake: they have been immortalized by the indignation and eloquence of Courier. The sincere friends of religion saw the conduct of its unwise and dishonest partizans with equal regret. Religion, instead of being endeared to the people,

became ridiculous and odious in their eyes. In vain were preachings, legends, and even miracles multiplied: in vain were the solemn rites of Catholicism paraded before all eyes. The missionaries penetrated into all parts of France, planted their crosses in highways and market places, and brought back their idle tales of numerous and enthusiastic converts. Their crosses, and preachings, and processions, excited the smile or the disgust of the people: their entrance into a town was a signal for a general demand for the representation of the "Tartuffe:" the disorder which attended sometimes amounted to riot, and was quelled by force and bloodshed: and the accounts of the progress of the missionary wending his way amid an indignant and resisting people, remind us of the Irish clergy collecting their tithes, attended by horse, foot, and field-pieces, amid the imprecations and slaughter of their flock.

The ministry of Richelieu was at length destroyed by a parliamentary defeat. A law introduced by the ministers to punish the offences of the press, was attacked by the liberals to whose principles it was opposed, and by the ultra-royalists, who displayed a sudden zeal in behalf of the freedom of the press. The Duc de Richelieu was forced to yield to this combination: and the ministry of Villèle, Corbières, and Peyronnet, succeeded. The first act of these most profligate ministers was characterized by the shameless inconsistency of their party. The law proposed by Richelieu was abandoned, and in its place, a still severer repressive measure and a revival of the censorship were substituted. A ready majority followed the tergiversation of their leaders; and the eloquent and constant opposition of the liberal deputies was in vain opposed to the reactionary course of the Chamber.

The disgust excited in the popular mind by the conduct of the legislature, combined with a very natural despair, was the occasion of that disposition to secret associations and conspiracies which now marked the conduct of the Liberals. Numerous secret societies were formed, and a society of Carbonari subsisted for a while. In the army particularly these plots were very numerous. Whilst they lasted, these societies terrified the government, but also essentially injured the cause of liberty, and compromised the characters and lives of persons whom their own imprudence or the villainy of the police drew into such conspiracies as those of Saumur, Colmar, and Rochelle. The last serious attempt to corrupt the army, and overturn the government by conspiracy, occurred at the commencement of the Spanish war. It was the success of that iniquitous enterprize that showed the hopelessness of plots, and thereby more materially advanced the return of constitutional freedom, than even by the false security

which its success gave the government, or the disgust which the principles on which it was conducted inspired. From that time secret associations and treasonable plots ceased, and the discontented nation employed its energies in organizing that peaceful and legal resistance which speedily and completely triumphed.

Nevertheless the undertaking and success of the Spanish war gave a great appearance of glory and stability to the government, and at the time considerably strengthened the hands of the royalist party. The expulsion of Manuel on a frivolous pretext is a glaring instance of the audacious defiance of representative government, by which the conduct of the majority was characterized. The consequent secession of the left side, though the most excusable step of the kind ever taken by an outraged minority, seems, like all other secessions, to have injured the popularity of the opposition. The dissolution which took place in the end of 1823 completed the triumph of the ministry; the liberal party was thoroughly discouraged, and their defeat was insured by the gross partiality with which the agents of government conducted the elections. Only seventeen, or at the most twenty Liberals, entered the next Chamber: the strenuous exertions of that small but noble band acted powerfully on the public, but had no immediate effect in checking the organized encroachments of the majority. The power of Villèle and the Chamber was confirmed by the Septennial Law. On this occasion, as on some during the secession in the previous session, the ministers experienced a fierce opposition from M. de la Bourdonnaye and a body of the most furious ultra-royalists, whose passionate declamations in favour of freedom and economy the discernment of public contempt has universally attributed to their discontent at being left out of office. On the occasion of the proposition for the reduction of the rentes, a more steady and reasonable oppositon was experienced from the Chamber of Peers, which was destined afterwards to shield the nation from more formidable attempts to establish misgovernment. The policy of the ministers was, however, in the main triumphant. Bad as it was, it was not yet so daring as it appeared in the next reign. Their opposition to some of the insane projects of de la Bourdonnaye, and to a proposition made by the Archbishop of Paris for a Law of Sacrilege, showed a moderation and regard for public opinion, which were afterwards thrown off.

At the end of the reign of Louis XVIII., the system of royalist reaction and the influence of the Congregation were in full vigour. In August, 1824, a complete revision of all public offices was accomplished by the *protegés* of Montrouge; a new ministerial department, with a seat in the cabinet, was created by the ap-

pointment of a Minister of Religion; and Frayssinous, Bishop of Hermopolis, was invested with the important office. But the progress of the party to further power was reserved for the reign and paternal superintendance of another monarch. The health of Louis, which had been infirm since his restoration, had been for some years breaking. On the 18th of September, 1824, he died, after a short illness; and with his reign we must close this article, which has already been extended to an excessive length. Indeed the guides which we had taken have long since deserted us, and we have continued a narrative from other sources, in order to give our readers an unbroken view of the entire reign of the first of the restored Bourbons. To complete the description of the character and fortunes of that dynasty, we trust in some future number to give a view of the equally interesting reign of Charles X.; of the subsequent career and downfal of the Villèle ministry, the interval of moderate and constitutional government, the appointment of Polignac and the consequent violent system of royalist reaction, and the final overthrow and expulsion of the dynasty of the Restoration.

The narrative which we have given above requires little additional comment to convey its import to our readers. The character of the restored dynasty, and the causes which decided its fate, lie on the surface of the events which we have described. From the simplest observation of them we may see the exact position of the Bourbons, the conduct by which they might have secured the peaceable continuance of their power, and the faults by which they forfeited its possession. In this respect the reign which we have now examined is peculiarly instructive. The reign of Charles X. exhibits a long and progressive series of misrule, wound up by the striking catastrophe which was its natural result. That of Louis XVIII. exhibits a still more varied instruction. It had some bright and happy periods—some in which the wise conduct of the monarch gave a fair chance to the experiment of constitutional monarchy—and showed how easily the rule of the ancient race of kings might have been reconciled with the feelings and institutions of modern France, and formed a durable basis for freedom and order.

The character of Louis XVIII. was, indeed, by no means incompatible with the position of a constitutional king. He possessed, it is true, none of the high moral or intellectual qualities which his flatterers attributed to him. Cold, indolent and selfish, he appears to have felt no generous sympathy with his people, nor ever to have warmly exerted himself to promote their good. His affections were confined to a few individuals to whom habit or necessity had attached him, and even in these cases his friendship had little permanence.

So far from possessing that "divine mercy," which his courtiers attributed to him, he appears to have been unfeeling, harsh, and even somewhat cruel. Equally unmerited were the praises lavished on him as a great and wise king. He exhibited no proof of genius as a legislator, no capacity for organizing his country, or improving its administration. His information and reading appear to have been confined in a great measure to light literature, and a knowledge of the mere events of history; and his reputation as an author, which the admiring confidants of his literary labours had largely extolled, has been completely destroyed by the mediocrity of his published works. Nevertheless, though possessed of none of the great qualities which have fitted some great monarchs for the task of elevating a nation, he was endued with quite sufficient good sense to make a proper use of the power with which circumstances invested him. His distinguishing characteristic was prudence: he saw that popularity was the best guarantee for the security of his throne, and therefore tried to acquire it, and as far as he found it consistent with his ease, took pains to obtain the good will of his subjects. He was attached to the ideas, feelings, habits and institutions of the ancient régime, more from early associations than any strong opinion of their fitness. In fact he was perfectly aware of their incompatibility with the state of things which he found established in France on his return, and very strongly impressed with a sense of the course of policy which it was expedient for him to pursue. In his conduct, therefore, we perceive none of the daring and reckless fanaticism which impelled his brother to hazard his crown for the re-establishment of priestcraft and absolute power. The violence of his own partisans filled him with alarm and disgust; it shocked his notions of good taste; and interfered with the crafty and cautious policy by which he hoped to secure the predominance of the system which he preferred. Nor does he seem to have been wanting in patriotic inclinations. His sympathies, though not strong, were good: he felt for the honour of France; and seems to have been led by his judgment, if not by strong sensibility, to interest himself in the welfare of his people, and study, by his policy, to secure their well being. His great fault—the fault which neutralized his good sense—was the weakness and pliancy of disposition which prevented his putting his own prudent views into practice, and rendered him the mere instrument of the more energetic bigots who surrounded him. It is the fate of those weak men who submit to the guidance of others, ultimately to fall under the dominion of those who are the least scrupulous as to the means of acquiring or maintaining their ascendancy. Thus Louis sometimes asserted his own policy,

adopted the advice of enlightened counsellors, and experienced the benefit resulting to himself and the nation from a prudent system of government. But in general, he submitted, though unwillingly, to the influence of his family; and conceded his own better inclinations to the extravagant demands of his fanatical brother or imperious niece.

All would have gone well for the royal family and France, had Louis, on his first restoration, been under better guidance. It is true that from the commencement to the end of the period preceding the Hundred Days, the Comte d'Artois had no influence over his brother, was almost in open disgrace, and indeed in avowed opposition. But the authority which he had acquired by the organization of the Royalists in the departments was great, and had a most pernicious effect. Nor indeed was the ascendancy of the Comte de Blacas much less pernicious than that of the Comte d'Artois. It was sufficient to neutralize the sagacity and moderation of Talleyrand, to encourage the pretensions and excesses of the royalists and the priests, to alarm the country, and to keep the king in perfect ignorance of the fatal effects of the system which he was pursuing.

The opportunity lost during the first restoration was never recovered. The second restoration, palpably effected by foreign force, placed the king in a far more difficult position than that which he had previously occupied. The humiliation and suffering which accompanied it imprinted on its origin an unpopularity which was never effaced; the alarm and indignation excited in the mind of the king forced him to throw himself into the arms of the ultra-royalists, and thus to countenance for a while those violent measures of re-action, which aggravated the calamities of France, and the animosity of parties. There can be little doubt that had Charles been then on the throne, the system of the Chambre Introuvable would have been continued for some time longer: that the indignation of the people would have been roused by further aggression; and that a popular insurrection, countenanced even by the allies, would have repeated the catastrophe of the hundred days, or rather anticipated that of 1830. The ordonnance of September, 1819, which arrested the royalist re-action, does honour to the prudence of Louis. The period which followed rewarded that prudence; and proved the fallacy of the coercive system that had been adopted as the best means of upholding the throne. A constitutional system of government was honoured, by the obedience, the affection, and the prosperity of the nation. During the ascendancy of the principles of M. Decazes, the confidence of the people in the good intentions of the government gave to that government a stability which it had

never before possessed. Opposition displayed itself only in the discussions of the tribune and the press: plots and revolts entirely ceased. The certain marks of good and popular government were seen in the industry as well as the tranquillity of the people: and the prosperity of France was the consequence of the cessation of political discord and alarm.

The second period of ultra-royalist domination commenced with the murder of the Duc de Berry, but for which the rupture between Decazes and the liberal party would probably soon have been healed. It is difficult to blame the old and infirm monarch for the change of policy into which he was driven by the alarm naturally excited by that horrible event. Terrified, and unwilling to oppose any resistance to the precautions suggested by the grief or terror of his family, he resigned himself to their guidance. The policy of his reign after this period, which he used to call that of his abdication, was no longer his; from 1820 to 1824, he reigned in name, but the measures adopted, and the responsibility incurred, were those of his successor. A system of continued aggression on the charter, a renewed, though milder, reaction commenced from the second return of the ultra-royalist party to power, and had its greatest developement and final overthrow in the reign of Charles X. In the last period of the reign of Louis XVIII. the discontent and suspicion of the people exhibited a partial renewal of the plots, mutinies, and sanguinary executions of the first period of re-action. The ultra-royalist ascendancy was established by successive triumphs over the charter. The Law of Elections gave that party a decided majority in the Chamber of Deputies: the Septennial Law secured it a lengthened enjoyment of that advantage: the Spanish war gave it the controul of the army, and the possession of a physical force sufficient to repress insurrection. Thus was organized that power with which, in the ensuing reign, Villèle ventured on attacking the popular institutions of the nation, and on forcing on it the yoke of the clergy. And at the same time was organized the resistance of the people to his system; that national discontent, which soon flung off the dangerous secrecy of cabals and conspiracies, elevated its bold but peaceable opposition in the Chamber, in the journals, and in the courts of justice; and with the mutilated guarantees, which the aggressive faction had left the liberties of France, finally overthrew the power which had been constructed by a long series of audacious, crafty, and unwise schemes.

ART. V.—*Critisk Undersögelse af Saxos Histories syo Sidster Böger.* Ved Dr. Peter Erasmus Müller, Biskop i Siœlland. Kiöbenhavn, 1830.

THE reign of the Danish kings Valdemar I. (the Great), and of his son Knut or Canute VI. (1157—1202), was a remarkable period of premature light and improvement in the history of the middle ages. The complete security enjoyed by the kingdom in consequence of the suppression of the piratical incursions of the pagan Wends, and other barbarous tribes, on the borders of the Baltic sea, was followed by the natural consequence of rapid improvement in all the arts of life. The progress of civilization, measured by any modern standard, was, indeed, painfully slow, and almost imperceptible. The stage of comparative advancement it had now reached was followed by a long night of ignorance and barbarity, extending to the period of the Reformation. But if the account given by Adam of Bremen, of the internal state of Denmark, little more than a century before this period, be compared with that of Arnold of Lubeck, whose chronicle was written at the commencement of the thirteenth century, a sensible improvement will be manifest in agriculture, commerce, and the arts of life connected with those branches of industry.

"The Danes," says this chronicler, "having for a long time carried on an extensive trade with Germany, have adopted the arms and dress used by other nations. Formerly they were clothed in the garb of mariners, because the nation was always engaged in expeditions by sea. Now they are luxuriously dressed in stuffs of various colours, and even purple and fine linen. The source of their riches is the fishery on the coast of Scania, which is frequented by the vessels of all nations, who exchange their most valuable wares for the fish which the divine goodness so liberally bestows upon this people. The country of the Danes is also full of fine horses, fed in their fertile pastures; and they distinguish themselves in war by their cavalry as well as naval armaments. They have besides made no inconsiderable progress in learning. The nobility of that country are accustomed to send their sons to Paris, to be instructed in the learning necessary for the ecclesiastical profession as well as civil life. In this manner they have acquired a thorough knowledge of the French tongue, and have become well versed in theology and the belles-lettres; and as they have a natural aptitude for study, have become not only subtle logicians, but able canonists, and deeply versed in the learning necessary for the management of ecclesiastical affairs. Lastly, religion flourishes eminently among the Danes, *as one may judge by the great numbers of convents of monks of various orders* founded by the Archbishop of Lund, the pious Eskill, who, after resigning all his dignities, retired to finish his holy life in the monastery of Clairvaux."*

* Chron. Slav. lib. iii. cap. 5. Arnold was Abbot of the Benedictine Monks at Lubeck. His work is a continuation of the Slavonic Chronicle of Helmoldus.

This eulogium is followed by our chronicler with that of Absalon, who succeeded Eskill in the archiepiscopal see of Lund, and was equally distinguished as a churchman, warrior, and statesman. Absalon was then Bishop of Röskilde. His real or affected reluctance to accept the high dignity of Primate and Apostolical Legate of the North was overcome by the commands of King Valdemar, the authority of the Pope, and the clamours of the people, who declared that they would have no other archbishop. Absalon, whose Danish name of *Axel* was thus latinized, after the fashion of the age, was born near Sorö, in the island of Zealand, in 1128. He died in 1201, the year preceding the decease of his beloved friend and sovereign, Canute. He had constantly guided by his counsels, and followed, or rather led, both Canute and his predecessor Valdemar the Great, in all their warlike expeditions, until his strength was at last exhausted by old age and unremitted toil. He was of the same illustrious stock which had already produced so many distinguished Danish prelates and warriors, being descended from the famous Palnatoke on the father's side, and on the mother's from St. Canute the king. His immediate paternal ancestors were distinguished military chieftains (*höfdingjar*), and though destined for the church, he was early trained in all the manly exercises becoming his illustrious birth, which in that age were by no means thought incompatible with the clerical character. The young nobleman was sent to pursue his studies in the University of Paris, where a college for students of the Danish nation (Collegium Dacicum) had been founded in the reign of Louis VII. Here he was instructed in canon law, and in philosophy and theology, as they were taught in the twelfth century. He also imbibed a taste for Greek and Roman literature, and returning to his native country with a high reputation for learning and talents, became connected in the most intimate bonds of friendship with Valdemar. In 1158, the episcopal see of Röskilde having become vacant, a sharp dissention ensued between the clergy and the people respecting the choice of a bishop. The latter had not yet lost their original share in the episcopal election, and were often disposed to exercise their right of confirmation contrary to the wishes of the clergy. The king declared to the dean and chapter, that though their cathedral had been founded and endowed by the liberality of his royal predecessors, he would in no wise interfere with their liberty of choice. There were three candidates for the vacant see, and the name of Absalon was added to the list "on account of his merit;" the king commanded four books to be laid out upon a table, in which the clergy inscribed their votes, and it was found upon inspection that

all the suffrages were united in favour of Absalon. His election was confirmed by the acclamations of the people.

"At this time," says the *Knytlingasaga*, "died Bishop Ossur, and Absalon, Asbjörn Snarre's brother, was chosen bishop in his place. This Absalon was a wise man and the best of clerks, and afterwards became a very great chieftain."

In thus assuming the episcopal crosier, Absalon did not lay down the sword he had so often drawn to chastise the pirate Wends, the enemies of his religion and country. He left his episcopal palace to fall to decay, whilst he built upon the shores of his island-diocese rude huts of boughs and turf, where he watched night and day, guarding his flock like a true shepherd against the stealthy approaches of the heathen wolves. Even in the dead of winter he cruised along the coasts of Zealand to interrupt the sea-rovers, and was often called from the altar, where he was performing divine service, to march against these ferocious foes. He was once preparing to celebrate Palm-Sunday at Röskilde, when information was suddenly brought him that a powerful band of Wends had landed from their ships, and were laying waste the country, plundering and destroying on all sides. Absalon hastily armed his "housecarles," choristers, and other church vassals, with as many of the neighbouring peasantry as he could collect, and making a sudden onset upon the enemy, drove them back to their ships with signal slaughter. The patriot-prelate also swayed by his wisdom and eloquence the decisions of the popular assembly of the "Lands-thing," which were too often overborne by the factious violence of the turbulent magnates. After his accession to the archiepiscopal throne, the sphere of his patriotic exertions became enlarged, so as to embrace the whole kingdom. He erected on the coasts of the islands and the continental provinces of Scania and Jutland, strongholds to defend he land against the harassing incursions of the Baltic pirates. Among other positions he fortified the present capital of Denmark, then an obscure fishing village, with a strong castle, against the sea-rovers, upon the spot where now stands the magnificent palace of Christiansborg.* At the same time Absalon founded, and richly endowed, monasteries for the various fraternities of monks, who swarmed from the Catholic countries of southern and western Europe. The primate reformed the abuses which had

* The fortress erected by the archbishop was called *Axel Huus*, Absalon's House,—and in the diplomas of the time, *Castrum de Havn*. The town afterwards received the name of *Kiöbmanshaven*, or "Merchants' Harbour," whence the modern name *Kiöbenhavn*. Mallet says, that mention is made at this period of the site of the Danish capital for the first time. But this is a mistake; it is mentioned in the Icelandic Sagas as early as the war between Svend Estrithson and King Magnus of Norway, under the name of *Höfn*, as in *Knytlingasaga*, kap. xxii.

gradually crept into the discipline of the national church, and established uniformity of worship in the place of the various rituals imported by the Anglo-Saxon and German priests, by whom Christianity had been originally planted in Denmark. He vindicated with the sword the claim of the clergy to tithes as a legal right, which had been long and pertinaciously resisted by the nation as the most grievous burthen sought to be imposed upon them by the Romish see. These are the monuments of Absalon's fame on which the cotemporary annalists delight to dwell with the most complacency. But his fairest title to the esteem of posterity must be sought for in his unaffected love of letters and patronage of learned men. Besides the knowledge of the classical writers of Greece and Rome, acquired in his early studies at Paris, he was familiarly acquainted with the works of the Icelandic Skalds and Sagamen. He retained in his service one Arnold, a native Icelander, a man well versed in the poetry and history of the ancient North, consulted him on the most important occasions, and was generally accompanied by him on his military expeditions against the pirate Wends. The primate was a zealous antiquarian, and rescued from destruction many a Runic inscription, which, but for his care, would have been irretrievably lost. He is said to have founded and endowed the monastery of Sorö with the express view that the colony of Cistercian monks planted there should devote themselves to the task of recording the national annals. The same motives induced him to stimulate and patronize the historical labours of Saxo Grammaticus and Sueno Aggonis. Although a man of strong and cultivated mind, Absalon was far from being exempt from the deeply rooted prejudices of his age. He believed implicitly in the augury of dreams and prodigies; but in a much more enlightened period the gifted Melancthon put full faith in the puerilities of astrology, and the warrior-bishop of the twelfth century must not be judged by modes of thinking universally current in the nineteenth. His character is well summed up, according to the prevailing notions of his own times, by his cotemporary Abbot William, a French monk from the convent of St. Genevieve, at Paris, whom Absalon had invited to Denmark, and who was subsequently employed by him in several important negociations with the Court of Rome.

"He was," says William, "distinguished for wisdom in council, the ornament of the clerical order, charitable to the distressed and needy, a pious friend of the monks of whatever fraternity, a terror to the pagan Wends, the jewel of the faith, the mirror of nobility and virtue, a burning and shining light in God's church, and its strong, unshaken pillar."*

* The life and character of Archbishop Absalon has been recently illustrated by Professor Estrup, in a biographical sketch entitled *Absalon, om Held, Staatsman, og Bisko*p.

Saxo, surnamed Grammaticus, was a churchman, and secretary or chancellor to Archbishop Absalon, who sent him to Paris for the purpose of inviting Abbot William to Denmark. The particular circumstances of Saxo's life are involved in great obscurity. The period of his birth is uncertain, but he died in 1204, having spent twenty years of his life in the composition of a Danish History, in Latin, from the earliest times to the reign of Canute VI. The first part of his work relating to the heroic or Pagan age, though not entirely destitute of authority, is filled with many incredible fictions, borrowed partly from the romantic and mythic songs and sagas of that period, or from sources quite foreign to real Danish history. But the last seven books, which is the portion of his work examined by the learned Bishop Müller in the memoir now before us, and containing the annals of Denmark from the time of Harald Gormson, may, for the most part, be regarded as authentic history, though it cannot always be reconciled with the Icelandic accounts recently brought to light by the diligence of the national antiquaries. Saxo's Latin style is highly wrought, often eloquent, and always lively and picturesque, though not faultless, nor in general formed upon the best classical models. But when considered as the work of a Danish ecclesiastic in the twelfth century, it may be regarded as a prodigy of taste and genius, worthy of the warm commendations extorted from a scholar like Erasmus, who praises its copiousness and rapid flow of language, its glowing fervour, and admirable variety of figures, so that he could never sufficiently wonder whence a Danish writer of that age could acquire such a powerful eloquence.*

The posterity of Knut or Canute the Great, having failed in the person of Harde-Knut or Hardecanute King of Denmark and England, in 1042, the Danish nation called to the vacant succession Svend, son of Canute's sister Estrith and of Ulfr Jarl, who left by his various wives and concubines a numerous progeny of sons, five of whom reigned after him successively to the exclusion of the children of each. Immediately upon his death, a contest for the vacant sceptre arose between his eldest son Harald and a younger son Knut, who had been recommended to the choice of the nation in preference to his elder brother by Svend Estrithson himself. According to Saxo, the election was held at the Isefiord

* The best edition of Saxo is that of Stephanius, Soræ, 1644, fol. A new and improved edition may soon be expected from the learned Bishop P. E. Müller, whose deep knowledge of the Icelandic authorities will probably enable him to throw new light upon this valuable historical monument, and to purify the text from the corruptions which have crept in for the want of MSS. there being no complete one now extant.

in Zealand, but the author of *Knytlingasaga* says it was at Viborg in Jutland. "The two brothers, Knut and Harald, went to Jutland, for there the king was to be elected at Viborg-thing; there was a great multitude assembled." The claims of Harald finally prevailed. He was duly proclaimed king, and made a progress through the provinces, where his election was confirmed, and he received the homage of the people in the different "lands-thing." His competitor Knut was appeased by being created "Jarl of Zealand," with a commission to guard the island from the ravages of the Pagan sea-rovers, and by a solemn promise ratified by the oaths of all the chieftains (höfdingjar) that he should be king after his brother Harald, in case he survived him.

The kingdom continued to be distracted for more than a century after this period by bloody contentions for a crown which was partly elective and partly hereditary, the choice being always confined to the descendants of Svend Estrithson, with a general preference (though not without exceptions) of the oldest surviving brother of the late king over his sons. Thus, when king Erik Ejegod set out on his pilgrimage to the Holy Land (1103), he declared in a public "Thing" that his son Erik should accompany him, his son Harald should remain to defend the country, and upon his third son Knut he conferred the Duchy of Sleswig, adding, that "every body knows that my brother Nikolas is next to the royal dignity after my decease according to law." The king* having died at Cyprus, Nikolas succeeded, and after having treacherously put to death his nephew Knut, and provoked the national hatred by his tyranny, was solemnly declared to have forfeited the crown by his perjuries and other crimes. Erik, the eldest son of Erik Ejegod, was chosen in his place, and he again was followed by another Erik, the grandson of Erik Ejegod, surnamed *Lamm* (the Lamb), from the gentleness of his character and the mildness of his rule. He abdicated the throne and retired into a monastery in 1147. On the termination of his pacific, but feeble and inglorious reign, the kingdom was again convulsed by the contentions growing out of the choice of a successor from among the surviving descendants of Svend Estrithson. After a series of civil wars and treacherous murders, Valdemar I. son of Knut Duke of Sleswig, and grandson of King Erik Ejegod, supplanted all his rivals, and the friend of Absalon became sole king of Denmark in 1157. He died in 1182, "lamented," says the *Knytlingasaga* "by all Denmark, over which he had reigned six and twenty years, and fought more than eight and twenty battles in the heathen land, and warred

* Knytlingasaga, kap. 79.

against the Pagans, to the glory of God's church, so long as he lived." (kap. 127.)

The introduction of tithes for the support of the clergy in Denmark, had been constantly resisted by the people ever since the establishment of Roman Christianity as the national religion. The attempt to enforce their exaction had cost Knut V. his life. A grateful clergy had rewarded his devotion to their interests with the crown of martyrdom, but the reluctance of the peasantry, especially in Zealand and Scania, to submit to the payment of this new tribute was not subdued. Archbishop Absalon persuaded Valdemar I. to enforce the collection of tithes in the province of Scania by force of arms. The natural repugnance of the king to shed the blood of his subjects in any case was overcome in this instance, which he was taught to consider not only as a culpable disobedience to his royal authority, but an impious resistance to the will of heaven, as interpreted by its ministers on earth. Absalon himself may have been, to a certain degree, influenced by a conscientious conviction of the justice of the cause he supported. But he acted in the general spirit of the sacerdotal and feudal aristocracy of his time; and it seems probable that he was mainly influenced by the interests of the order in which he was born, and of which he had become the head. Until the epoch of the Valdemars, the Danish peasant came armed into the national assembly of the "Lands-thing," and exercised his political rights with as much freedom as any noble in the land. The aristocracy of the heroic or Pagan age was patriarchal in its character. The Jarls, Hærsers, Höfdingjar, and other magnates and chieftains, were the leaders of the people in war, and exercised over them a certain degree of political influence in time of peace. They were the pontiffs of religion, but not a separate order of priesthood. Their relation to the mass of the people was not that of lord and vassal, but resembled rather the connection of patron and client; if indeed its tie was so strong as that which bound the Roman plebeian to his patrician protector. This independent bearing of the commons offended the growing pride of the higher orders, and the cultivators of the soil gradually sunk under the increasing power and influence of the feudal aristocracy and the Romish hierarchy. The free Danish peasant became a feudal serf, chained to the soil on which he grew, in which abject condition he remained during the middle ages, and never emerged from it until the last year of the eighteenth century.

The codes of law supposed to have been published by Valdemar I. for Scania and Zealand, have been recently shown to be mere private re-compilations of the ancient customary law of those

provinces, made without the sanction of any public authority. The fame of Valdemar II., as a legislator, rests on a more solid foundation. His views probably extended to the formation of a general code for the whole kingdom; but they were overruled by the invincible attachment of the people of Scania and Zealand to their local customs and usages. Beside these customary or unwritten laws, the retainers of the king's court, or *witherlagamenn*, had their own peculiar code, established in the time of Canute the Great, by which they were judged in the court of the palace by a jury of their fellows. The royal guilds, or fraternities, were also privileged to be judged by their own by-laws. The cities were already endowed with municipal privileges, one of the principal of which was to be entirely exempt from the jurisdiction of the king's courts. The clergy had also asserted a complete exemption from the secular jurisdiction. The Roman civil law had been introduced into Denmark by the ecclesiastics and others who had studied at Paris and Bologna, and the confusion produced by the multitude of local customs and royal ordinances was thus increased by the introduction of another and a foreign code. To remedy the evils flowing from this confused and contradictory legislation, Valdemar convened at Vordingborg, in 1240, a national assembly of the "Daunehof," or general diet, consisting of the princes, prelates, and other great men of the kingdom. Here was promulgated what is called by the Danish jurists the *Jutland Law*, but which was intended as a uniform code for the whole kingdom. It was received in Zealand and Scania as supplementary to their own provincial customs, which had long before been reduced to a written text: but it prevailed for several centuries in Jutland, Fionia, and the duchy of Sleswig, and though superseded in the former province by the general code of Christian V., it still continues to form a part of the law now subsisting in the duchy of Sleswig.

The Jutland law recognized the old division of the kingdom into small maritime districts for military defence, and for the equipment of naval expeditions beyond sea. Each of these territorial districts, or rather its principal port, was called *Styreshavn*, and the officer to whom the command of the local force was confided, *Styresmand*. Every such district was obliged to furnish a barque containing twelve rowers and the steersman, with a man-at-arms and archer. These formed what may be called the maritime militia. The vessels of a larger size were built and equipped by the king himself, or furnished by the opulent bishops and other magnates, or by the maritime associations at Röskilde and other ports, to cruise against the Wend pirates. The landholders of the district, possessing lands of the value of two marcs of silver, were

bound to furnish one man, and those of the value of a marc of gold eight men, for the equipment, each armed with a helmet, and furnished with thirty-six arrows; still the other freemen were compelled to serve personally in rotation. Freemen capable of bearing arms were permitted to be furnished as substitutes.

The origin of the feudal nobility in Denmark is commonly attributed to a perversion of this institution, intended for the defence of the kingdom. The kings were accustomed to grant permission to such of their magnates or courtiers as they wished to favour, to erect these maritime districts into hereditary fiefs, exempted from the primitive obligation of contributing to the equipment of a naval force. The feudal nobles thus created were called *Herremænd.* This peculiar privilege was gradually extended to the monasteries and prelates, who, with their vassals, were in like manner exempted from the same obligation. The free peasants, who, like the franklins of England, were originally independent landed proprietors, having an equal voice in the public assembly or "lands-thing" of the province with the first nobles in the land, were thus compelled to seek the protection of these powerful lords, and to become the vassals of some neighbouring "herremand," or prelate, or convent. The provincial "lands-thing," in which the kings were from time immemorial elected, and the laws of the kingdom publicly promulgated, were gradually superseded by the general national parliament of the *Dannehof, Adel-thing*, or *Herredage:* the latter being exclusively composed of the princes, prelates, and other great men of the kingdom. The free peasantry gradually ceased to participate, whilst the burghers had not yet obtained a share, in political power. The constitution of the state, though irregular, fluctuating, and to a certain degree undefined, like that of all imperfectly civilized communities, was rapidly approaching the form which it ultimately assumed, that of a feudal and sacerdotal oligarchy. The authority of the kings, indeed, in the time of the Valdemars, still continued very considerable, and was augmented by their foreign expeditions and conquests, and by the attempts they made to establish something like a regular hereditary succession to the crown. Thus Valdemar I., during his own lifetime, caused his son Knut VI. to be solemnly crowned and associated in the government. Valdemar II. was designated, during the lifetime of his brother, Knut VI. as his successor, and, on the death of the latter, assumed the crown without any formal election. Valdemar II. caused his eldest son, Valdemar III., and on the decease of the latter, his second son, Erik, to be crowned and declared co-regents during his lifetime. The laws newly enacted were promulgated by the king, but the right of the nation to participate in the exercise of legislative

power, was unequivocally acknowleged in the preamble to the Jutland law:

"No man shall (dare to) judge against (or contrary to) the law, which the king gives (issues) and the country receives (admits); but according to that law, the whole land is to be judged and ruled.

"The law which the king gives and the country receives, he (the king) must not (cannot) recall nor alter, but with the consent of the country, unless (the king) acts (will act) openly against God."

The national diet, or parliament, was convened annually at Wyborg, and during the recess of this body the government of the kingdom was administered by the king with the advice of his council (Kongens Raad), composed of the great officers of state and other magnates, without whose consent no important matter could be decided. Justice was administered in all secular affairs by the popular tribunal of the "lands-thing" for each province, and the "herreds-thing" for the smaller districts into which the province was divided for that purpose. The cities had their own municipal courts of peculiar jurisdiction, called the "by-thing," and no burgher could be impleaded in any other place. The local tribunals of the herreds-thing had jurisdiction of small offences and civil controversies, with an appeal to the lands-thing, which had original cognizance of more heinous crimes, such as murder, maiming, and all other cases where at least half the "price," or *were*, for homicide was payable, as a pecuniary satisfaction for the offence. Valdemar had already abolished the ordeal *ferri candentis* in Scania, and there are no traces in the Jutland code of that mode of procedure, or of trial by battle. The law merely required the complainant to support the accusation by his own oath, and that of his compurgators, or by evident facts manifesting the *corpus delicti*. This having been done, the trial proceeded before certain jurors called *Norvinger*, except in the very few cases where the defendant was allowed to wage his law, or purge himself by his own oath, and the testimony of a certain number of compurgators. These jurors were selected from the "thing-mænd," or freemen of the vicinage qualified to attend the herreds-thing, a majority of whom determined the verdict, and in case of equal division of opinions, other jurors were added from the next adjoining district. Beside these popular juries, there were other inquests held in the district, by the king's bailiffs, assisted by sworn interpreters called *Sandemænde*.

Valdemar's son, Erik, was assassinated at the instigation of his brother Abel, (1250), who caused his own succession to be confirmed according to the ancient custom, which had for some time fallen into disuse, by all the freemen assembled in the different provincial lands-thing. This king held a *Dannehof* at Rendsburg,

where the old law of the kingdom was renewed, requiring a national diet to be convened annually at Wyborg. At the same Dannehof, Abel's eldest son, Valdemar, who was then pursuing his studies at Paris, was designated as his successor, to the exclusion of the king's brother Christopher, who claimed the crown in preference to his brother's children under the "old law," which had been observed in the case of the sons of Svend Estrithson. It was probably with a view to strengthen his interest with the nation, and to secure the crown for himself and his children, rather than from any enlarged views of policy, that Abel gave at this time the first example of summoning the representatives of the principal cities and towns to attend the national parliament. From this period they became indispensable members, at least of that species of national assembly called the *Rigsdage* or *Dannehof*, consisting of the three estates of the realm—the clergy, nobility, and commons. The latter were entirely excluded from the *Herredage*, which was composed of the nobles and prelates alone. Municipal corporations had existed in Denmark from a very early period. There is reason to believe that the royal residence and episcopal see of Röskilde; Ringsted, also for a long period the principal residence and burial-place of the Danish kings; and Vertved, the seat of a famous monastery, were all possessed of extensive municipal privileges about the commencement of the twelfth century. Sleswig is mentioned in the account given to King Alfred by the Norwegian navigator Other of his voyages, as an important commercial town, under the name of Hœdeby. After the conversion of the kingdom to Christianity, it became a bishop's see, and the capital of South Jutland. It was first incorporated by Svend Grathe in 1156 with very extensive immunities, entirely exempting the burghers from the jurisdiction of the king's courts, as well as of the neighbouring tribunal of the Lands-thing. This monarch had probably become acquainted, by his frequent intercourse with Germany, with the organization of municipal corporations in the empire. The charter granted by him to Sleswig subsequently became a model for this species of institution. The augmentation of the royal revenues seems to have been the principal motive which induced the Danish monarchs to create these privileged bodies. The admission of their deputies to a seat in the national council, was a germ of political freedom which possibly might have ripened in a more propitious soil into a House of Commons, the safe depository of the public liberties. But if this institution was really designed with the long-sighted view of creating an effectual check to the overgrown power, wealth, and influence of the nobility and clergy, it proved in the result wholly inadequate for such a pur-

pose. The true national commons were the free peasants, the cultivators and proprietors of the soil, who were now rapidly sinking under the overwhelming weight of the feudal and sacerdotal oligarchy, whose galling yoke soon became equally oppressive both to king and people. In 1282, the nobles assembled in a diet at Wyborg, wrested from King Erik Glipping a formal act, defining their privileges and the limits of the royal authority, that served as a model of the capitulations (Haandfœstning) which the subsequent Danish monarchs were compelled to sign at the time of their coronation. By the capitulation signed by Christopher II. on his election by the diet at Vyborg, it was declared that the bishops and all other members of holy church should freely enjoy their rights and liberties, property and vassals, as formerly enjoyed by them, and should be entirely exempt from taxes and the secular jurisdiction. That no ecclesiastical person should be arrested, exiled, or deprived of his goods, without the Pope's bull, if a bishop, and if an inferior clerk, by the regular sentence of his canonical judge: that the lords (milites et armigeri) should have a feudal jurisdiction over their vassals to the extent of a fine of three or four marks, according to the local custom of each province: that they should not be constrained to bear arms without the kingdom against their will; and if taken prisoners in war the king should ransom them within the year: that the king should not make war without the advice and consent of the prelates and best men of the kingdom (meliores regni): that no German foreigner should be capable of receiving a grant of lands, fiefs, or office in the kingdom: that all the royal castles in North Jutland should be demolished, except Ribe, Kold, and Scanderborg. Nor were the rights of the commons entirely neglected in this great charter. It provided that the burghers should enjoy their free trade, and not be subject to any new toll or tax without the consent of the diet: that the merchants should be repaid the sums borrowed of them by the king or his bailiffs: that the free peasants should be subject to no tax or corvée, contrary to the established laws and customs: that a parliament (parliamentum) should be held annually at Wyborg: King Valdemar's law should be confirmed, and not be subject to alteration but by the advice of the "discreet men" of the kingdom. No man should be cited, in the first instance, before the king's court, but first before the *Herredsthing* of his own bailiwick, and then by appeal before the *Landsthing* of the province in the king's presence, and if the party was dissatisfied with this second judgment, before the *Dannehof*, *Adels-thing*, or "general parliament" (parliamentum generale) of the kingdom. No man should be imprisoned or deprived of

life or property without public trial and conviction, according to the laws of the land. All the new taxes and impositions as established since the death of King Valdemar should be abolished. That the plunder of ship-wrecked vessels should be punished, and that no new law should be made, unless with the consent of the whole kingdom in a general parliament, in which alone it should be lawful for the king to alter, take from, or add to the above articles by the advice of the prelates and "best men" of the kingdom.

Art. VI.—*Petition de la Chambre de Commerce de Lyon, à la Chambre de Deputés de la France.*

When commencing, in our ninth volume,* our disquisitions upon "Reciprocity and Free Trade," we observed that the Governments, both of England and of France, were more inclined to take off restrictions than the people to be set free from them. The petition with which we head this article, from the representatives of the commercial interest at Lyons, to the Chamber of Deputies, shows that even those who are engaged in trade, at the very seat of the silk manufacture itself in France, are now espousing the principles for which we have humbly contended, and upon which our rulers, both Whigs and Tories,† have, for some years, begun to legislate. Though it be somewhat in contradiction of our own estimate of public opinion in France, we are truly glad to be enabled to adopt this document as the title of our renewed inquiry.

In our last volume‡ we laid down the principle of Freedom in Trade. Not relying upon the dogmas of political economy, or attempting to prove that, by any system of commercial legislation, the wealth of the country would be augmented, we argued for non-interference, upon the general right of every man to do what he wills with his own property. For a legislature, we have contended, to teach men how to be happy, or rich, is an attempt, presumptuous, oppressive, and vain. We have admitted,§ that the general safety against foreign enemies, which is the peculiar

* Page 261.

† "Free Trade" has never properly become a question of party politics in this country. It has found advocates as well as adversaries in the ranks of both parties; nor have the same men always maintained the same opinions. The recent relaxations in our commercial system have commenced and been effected, quite as much, to say the least, by Tories as by Whigs; nor did a single measure of the Duke of Wellington's Board of Trade furnish ground of opposition to the then Whig minority. In the Silk Committee of last session, the advocates of restriction were, for the most part, Whigs, and they would have had an ultimate majority, but for the exertions of one, who, by his own avowal, "clings to the name of Tory."

‡ Vol. x. p. 69.

§ Vol. ix. p. 276.

trust of the government, may constitute an exception to this rule; but we have shown that no such exception is necessary now; or, at least, no exception beyond the existing laws. We have admitted,* that the subsistence of the people might reasonably constitute another exception; but we have as yet given no opinion, as to the necessity and sufficiency of the present laws regarding the food of man. These two we hold to be the only permanent exceptions admissible.

The object, according to us, of a government, ought to be, to adhere to the principle of freedom as clearly as these two admitted cases of exception will permit; and to take care that they operate neither more extensively, nor for a longer period than their legitimate purpose requires. The government in an old country has no duty different from that of the government of a new community; except in as far as former departures from a just principle may have placed the interests of certain individuals, or classes, at variance with the common right and the common good. It is the duty of government to restore the lost right: dealing, however, very tenderly with the interests of those who have flourished under a system of injustice and oppression; rendering, on their account, the transition from wrong to right very gradual, but always moving onward until the right shall have been completely restored.

We have given a history of the proceedings of our governments since 1820, having this transition in view; and we will in this article consider, whether it has been effected prudently, and what have been the results of the new measures; in regard as well to particular interests, as to the general prosperity.

Subsequently to our last publication, free trade has been the subject of a discussion in the House of Commons, and there has been an elaborate inquiry into the state of the manufacture more particularly affected by the new measures. We rejoice at having thus something to work upon.

Mr. Robinson, of Worcester, brought the general subject before the House of Commons in May† last, when he presented a very elaborate petition from that city. This manifesto is full of general assertions and speculations, but is not only without one fact, but without any specific allegation of injury. The petitioners even start with a mistatement, of no great importance, but illustrative of their laxity of assertion. "The ancient Statutes for the protection of Trade and Manufactures have been repealed or rendered null by late Statutes, enacted more especially, (*as is therein recited*) for the extension of Freedom of Trade."

---

* Vol. ix. p. 276. † May 22d, Parl. Deb. xii. 1277.

There is not one word of this recital, in any of the acts which repeal prohibitions or lower the duties on importation! It was not to be expected, that persons who had not read the acts of which they complained, should be prepared to describe the alterations which they desired. The petitioners accordingly content themselves with a prayer for inquiry, "1st. Whether the Commerce and Navigation of the country have not gradually been declining since the introduction of the principles of the Free Trade System: and 2dly. Whether the re-enactment of the whole or some part of these wholesome and patriotic Statutes under which the British People enjoyed unrivalled prosperity, is not necessary for the revival of Trade."

The first question we resolve in the negative; we shall soon show, that, since these "ancient Statutes" have been repealed, more British goods have been exported, and more foreign goods imported; and more voyages performed by British ships.

As to the unrivalled prosperity which we have lost, the question is, *when* was it enjoyed? Unless it were in the period immediately preceding the change of system, it furnishes no argument. No comparative statement is available, unless it shows that under all the circumstances of the world, some years after the peace, the commerce and navigation of this kingdom were in a state of progressive extension; and that since these changes they have declined. Yet it is notorious, and it is part of the statement of Mr. Robinson himself, that between 1815 and 1825, there were aggravated symptoms of distress among the whole trading community.*

We do not deny, that in judging of the wisdom of the change of system which has been effected, it is fair to take into consideration the whole state of the country, before the change and after it: a falling off in the extent or profitableness of our trade, or manufactures, would not necessarily prove that the recent policy had been erroneous; but it would put the advocates of that policy upon the defensive, and require them either to shew that the new measures could not possibly be the cause of the evil, or to state other causes, to which there is a reasonable ground for ascribing it. But as many great effects spring from causes which human wisdom cannot certainly discover, it cannot be admitted that a failure, even in both these points, would justify a condemnation of the new policy; at most, its authors must submit to the charge of having tried an experiment with doubtful success. It will be found, that this reservation is not necessary to the justification of the measures; but we wish to state, fairly and fully, all the points of the case.

* Parl. Deb. xii. 1282.

We shall show that the Foreign trade of this country, that is, the number and extent of its transactions of purchase and sale with the other countries of the world, has *not* declined since the commencement of the new system. There is not a single point of view, in which it can be presented, without exhibiting the symptoms of enlargement.

There may be a question as to the exact limitation of the periods which we are to compare, but no way of stating the accounts of imports and exports, or of shipping employed, will give a result otherwise than favourable to the latest period. And the most recent year, 1831, is the largest, as to the extent of commercial transactions, of any which can be found; not only in the periods immediately preceding and succeeding the change, but, for the last twenty years.

We will now state, on the same averages as in our former article,* the official value of the imports of Foreign merchandize into the United Kingdom:†

In 1821-2-3, ...	£‡ 32,381,000
In 1824-5-6, ...	39,810,000
In 1827-8-9, ...	44,632,000
In 1830-1, ...	47,979,000 §

There thus appears an increase in the imports, as indicated by these official rates, of not less than £15,598,000 between the first period and the last, or, if we take the latest year, £17,332,000.

---

* Vol. IX. p. 278.

† In this, and in all similar accounts, the trade between Great Britain and Ireland is considered as a country trade, and is not included. The trade between Great Britain or Ireland, and the British or Channel Islands, that is, Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, Sark, and Man, is considered as a trade with a foreign country, and is therefore included in this account.

‡ These are the "official" values; there is no other method of stating a total of separate articles; an account of *quantities* can be given, but it is obvious that these cannot be added together. There are not the means of giving the actual cost, or sale value, of imports; and even could they be given, they would not afford the means of a comparison of quantities,—the thing here desired. The accounts of official value, defective as they are for many purposes, afford decidedly the nearest approximation to an accurate account of the comparative *extent* of traffic at different periods. It has been said, that these official values are not even to be relied upon for comparison, because, in one account, an over-rated article may predominate, in another, one that is under-rated. Therefore, they do not answer for ascertaining the present relative value of our trade with two several countries; but, where no considerable change has taken place in the articles composing the account, that is, for trade with any particular country, at particular periods, or for the general account of trade in this country, they are tolerably accurate; the more so, if the period of time is not extensive, and it is known that there has been no material alteration in the course of trade. Still, wherever we can, we shall state actual quantities.

§ We have stated the average, but there was a great increase in the latter year:

1830, ...	£46,245,000
1831, ...	49,713,000

These sums are taken from the Annual classed accounts.

This statement proves, that we have imported a greater quantity of foreign goods, a fact from which may be reasonably inferred an enlargement of the means of purchase possessed by the inhabitants of this country, and an enlarged use of commodities;—undoubted symptoms of prosperity.

But, it may be answered, No. Your statement is only the proof of the very evil of which the opponents of the new system complain. We are deluged with foreign commodities, to the extinction of our produce and manufactures.

Now, putting aside for the present, the doctrine, which teaches that there can be no importation without an exportation, corresponding not only in value, but in the employment which it affords, let us inquire how far these importations *can* have interfered with our native industry. In what proportions have they consisted of foreign manufactures, or of articles which are also produced in this country. In what proportion of the materials of our own manufactures, and of articles of foreign luxury; nor is it immaterial to inquire how much of this increased importation from abroad has consisted of the produce of our own possessions.

It is not easy to make these distinctions with accuracy; but the following classified statement of the increase between the first and last period of importations into Great Britain, will afford an approximation.*

	£
Raw materials of our manufactures, including dye stuffs, &c.	6,807,000
Fruits, spices, tea, sugar, and various consumable articles not grown here	2,475,000
Corn, grain, meal, and flour	3,828,000
†Agricultural produce (other than corn,) such as is produced here	585,000
Metals	223,000
‡Foreign manufactures	552,000
Articles not specified	792,000
	15,262,000
Deduct decrease on Timber	1000
Total increase	15,261,000

We have not the materials of an account, showing the propor-

* In this, and other detailed statements, we give Great Britain only, because there would be much trouble in adding Ireland, and the difference would not be considerable. Of the whole increase of more than fifteen millions and a half, only about 350,000*l.* arises in Ireland. Add to which, that it is chiefly to Great Britain that the opponents of the new system refer in their complaints.

† Of this, 290,000*l.* is on tallow.

‡ From 654,000*l.* to 1,206,000*l.* The increase is almost entirely in the silk manufactures.

tion in which these several species of imports came from our own colonies and from foreign countries; but it may be stated generally, that between a fourth and a fifth of the whole is either the produce of British possessions, or imported from them.

It thus appears, that of the increased importation, about one-thirtieth consists of foreign manufactures, while almost one-half consists in the means of supporting our own manufactures. Are not these facts nearly enough to negative any allegation of the injurious effect of foreign importation, as facilitated by the new measures, upon the manufacturing interests of Great Britain? It *may* be true, and into this we shall presently inquire, that particular branches have suffered, but the general effect is undeniably favourable.

There has been an enlarged importation of metals, so slight as to make it scarcely necessary to point out that these are in great part materials for manufacture.

The laws affecting the importation of timber have been but slightly relaxed; they constitute, confessedly, a great boon to one of the most extensive and complaining interests—the ship-owners. The diminished importation consists in the timber of foreign Europe.* This is with us no subject of congratulation: we would willingly obtain this necessary article from the nearest countries; but it shows that neither the timber grower, nor the colonist, has a right to complain of the new measures.

The remainder of the increase (exclusively of articles so inconsiderable as not to be specified) consists in articles of luxury, and almost of necessity, peculiar to foreign countries,† or to our colonies.

It will be observed, that these accounts give the whole amount of importation, whether for re-exportation, or for home consumption; and this, for elucidating the state of our foreign trade, is correct. In estimating the effect produced upon our own manufactures and native industry, or for an indication of our prosperity, it would be right to give the extent of commodities retained for home consumption. We have no means of giving this in value, official or real, as to the total amount. We shall presently state it, as to the particular articles affected by the new measures; but it is clear that the greater portion of the increased imports have been retained for home consumption, because the foreign and colonial produce exported has not increased in the

* See Par. Paper, No. 300 of 1827, and No. 464 of 1802.

† The principal increase is in wines, tea, sugar, molasses, and olive oil.

same degree.* And the following statement will show how largely the materials of our manufactures have increased.

Imported for Home Consumption.	1821-2-3. lbs.	1830-1. lbs.
Cotton wool	156,973,000	274,942,000
Raw and waste silk . .	2,044,000	4,027,000
Sheeps' wool	17,003,000	30,935,000†

It would be contrary to all probability, it may be said to possibility, that the considerable increase of importation which has been here stated should not have been accompanied by an increase also of exportation. Accordingly, the exports of British produce and manufactures from the United Kingdom were

In 1821-2-3	£42,950,000
In 1824-5-6	45,611,000
In 1827-8-9	53,743,000
In 1830-1	60,912,000‡

These are, as before, the official rates, indicating the quantity; and it appears that the last period exceeds the first by 17,962,000*l.*; —an increase more than 40 per cent. This increase is thus apportioned:—

Cotton manufactures and yarns . .	£14,536,000
Linen manufactures	864,000
Woollen manufactures	208,000
Metal manufactures	1,600,000
Various other manufactures and articles of produce	784,000
Total increase . . .	17,992,000§

From this table, it appears that by far the greater part of the increase has been in the cotton manufactures, but it is found also in all the principal articles of manufacture.

For our present purpose, however, it is indifferent, whether the increase has occurred in one branch or another; it is quite clear that, under the new system, foreign trade has been extended; and that there has been exported to foreign countries a larger quantity of the produce of British industry.

---

* See p. 147, *post*.

† We believe that the account from which this statement is taken has not been printed; but we pledge ourselves for its authenticity. We regret much that the mode in which the accounts of trade were, until lately, rendered to Parliament, has made it impossible for us to make all the comparisons which are desirable. We should always wish to give values and quantities; if we give sometimes one and sometimes the other, it is because the second is not to be had.

‡ 1830	61,140,000
—1	60,683,000

§ There is necessarily a difference between this and the former total, which included the whole United Kingdom. See note *, in p. 144.

The exports of foreign and colonial merchandize have been as follows, in official value :—

	United Kingdom.
In 1821-2-3	9,484,000
In 1824-5-6	9,815,000
In 1827-8-9	10,133,000
In 1830-1	9,647,000*

Exhibiting an increase, not very considerable, in the last period as compared with the first. We have not the means of distinguishing the foreign from the colonial produce, but a large portion is undoubtedly colonial.

Now, let us ask, is it possible to escape the conclusion that British industry has thriven under the new system, unless we suppose that, while we have exported more largely to foreign countries, our own consumption has been diminished, or has been supplied by foreigners. In neither of these suppositions is there any probability.

As to the latter, it has already been seen, that the principal increase of importation has been in raw materials, or in produce with which we have no competition.

It is scarcely possible that an extension of foreign trade, accompanied by a reduction of taxation, and a fall of prices, should have been attended by a diminution of domestic consumption; but if such diminution were shown, it would avail nought in this discussion, unless connected with the new measures.

But one of the favourite allegations of those who impugn the late measures is, that all the statements of increased trade are composed of imaginary values; and that, although the quantity of commodities may have been greater, the value has been less.

We presume that it is not intended to apply this observation in the shape of complaint to the imports; it can scarcely be lamented that our manufacturers should obtain more easily their raw materials; or even that such foreign luxuries as we receive should be more cheaply purchased. They must admit that the demand for them is an indication of prosperity. The opponents of free trade are very hostile to the maxim which prescribes cheap purchases and dear sales; yet they appear to think it possible to attain that end, in a degree to which we think it hopeless. They complain of the cheapness of their sales, without perceiving that the cheapness of their purchases, of which they do not complain, is probably owing to the same causes.

The complaint regards the exports; and as the custom-house books supply an account of the "real or declared value" of these,

* 1830 8,550,000
—1 10,745,000

a value, which, if perhaps not precisely the true price obtained, approaches it more nearly than the official values, these are referred to in proof of the substantial diminution, notwithstanding the apparent augmentation, of our exports.

The following, then, is a table of declared values :—

Exported.	1821-2-3.	1830-1.	Difference.
Cotton manufactures and yarn .	16,568,000	18,259,000	1,691,000
Linen manufactures	2,089,000	2,113,000	24,000
Woollen manufactures . . .	6,194,000	5,116,000	[*1,078,000]
Metal manufactures	2,971,000	3,873,000	902,000
Various other manufactures and articles of produce . .	7,742,000	7,810,000	68,000
	£35,564,000	37,171,000	2,685,000
*Deduct decrease on woollens			1,078,000
Net increase of exports according to their *value* .			£1,607,000

Assuredly, the comparison of these declared values brings us to a different result from that which is deduced from the official valuation. It appears that in the manufactures of woollens there has been an increase in the official value, indicating the quantity, attended by a diminution of the declared value, which indicates the price. In the manufactures of cottons, linens, metals, and others, there has been an increase according to both modes of valuation, but one, which is very inconsiderable, of declared value. In these, and especially in the very important manufacture of cotton, though the proportion of the real to the official value evinces a fall in the price, the augmentation of quantity has been so great as to occasion an increase in the value of the whole exportation.

We have thus shown, what has happened since the introduction of a freer system of importation. Let us now consider what would have happened, if no such change had been made. We have a right to put an extreme case. Let prohibition, or prohibitory duties, have been applied to all manufactures. In such a case, we should have prevented the importation of any foreign manufactures, amounting, as they now do, to about one-thirty-eighth of our whole import. Or, if, instead of prohibiting all, we had left the law as it stood, we should have prevented the import of that increased quantity of foreign manufactures, which has raised their proportion to the whole import from a forty-ninth to a thirty-eighth.† Will any practical man say sincerely, that,

† We do not use our accounts in this argument, because we are aware that the official values, however useful in comparing the imports of particular periods, are not to be relied upon in comparing imports and exports.

in either case, our exports would have been precisely such as they have been? When it is denied, that every import must have a corresponding export, is it intended to say, that there is no connection between the two transactions; that the one does in no degree influence the other?

Mr. Robinson's constituents undertake to prove the fallacy of the argument, that " in purchasing the manufactures of other countries we occasion the sale of an equal amount of our own." If we understand it, their reasoning is this:—the nations that buy our manufactures, are nations of small population, without manufactures of their own; they *must* buy the manufactures of other states; but we, in purchasing foreign manufactures, save some part of the prices to our consumers, but " deprive our own trade and industry of the whole of the price." What we pay for foreign manufactures pays the wages of their labourers. They spend it in subsistence, not in our manufactures:—If, possibly, those to whom it " passes from them, spend it on our manufactures, it should be remembered, that there would, at least, have been as much so spent by the persons into whose hands this money must have come, after forming the wages of British labourers. *Thus*, the free trade system, according to the doctrine of the economists, is a simple transfer of so much money from British to foreign labourers."*

We should, in any case, they mean, export our goods to the countries which have no manufactures, as we do now. And although the price of those which we purchase of the manufacturing countries, does occasion the purchase of our goods, by some persons either in those countries, or in others with which they trade, still that is no *additional* purchase, because similar purchases would have been made, in England, with the price of the English goods which would have been manufactured, instead of the foreign goods purchased.

The whole argument on our side is here conceded. All that is contended for is, that no foreign manufacture is purchased, except by British manufactures exported; and, therefore, that foreign importation cannot, on the whole, diminish the quantity of British manufactures made, or of the employment afforded to British industry. The deduction which the petitioners draw, by their simple *thus*, is quite unwarranted, as applicable to the position which it is intended to overturn. It is not denied by us, that in a particular manufacture, silk for instance, there may be a transfer from British to foreign workmen; but there is no diminution upon the whole of our manufactures, because the French silks are paid for, mediately or immediately, in English hardware,

* Worcester petition. Parl. Deb. XII. p. 1278.

(for instance), which hardware is wrought with that view, and in addition to what is made for English consumption. The transfer, therefore, is from the Englishman, who works upon an inferior and struggling manufacture, to one who makes the best of goods. This transfer is so obviously desirable as to make it scarcely necessary to refer to the qualifications which were formerly applied to the doctrine of equivalent exports.*

Mr. Robinson did not very stoutly support the argument of his constituents in respect of equivalent exports:—but he fully espoused their ideas on the favourite topic of reciprocity. Indeed, he has generally put his hostility to the late measures upon the want of reciprocity alone.

The London merchants admit in their petition, that it may sometimes be politic to regulate the duties on particular articles with some reference to the conduct of particular foreign countries. The promise to tax, heavily or lightly, a foreign production, may be used as a weapon in diplomacy.

We admit that we may possibly procure a relaxation of the French tariff, by maintaining the strictness of our own. But the relaxation obtained by us, and that which we give in exchange, will not affect the same interest. The country at large may gain, but not the complaining individuals.†

The Worcester petitioners simply urge, that reciprocity never will exist, because it is against the interests of other nations to import our manufactures. If this be really so, there is an end of the argument for making the admission of foreign goods the subject of negociation. If we can *never* hope to persuade France to take our razors, we may as well avail ourselves of her silks and wines at once.

Mr. Robinson, who is a fair man, and always intends to found his arguments upon facts, does not deny that our trade has increased; but he says that the increase has been independent of our measures; and that there has been none with those countries which are pursuing a course of competition with England. There has been none with *France;* and if we have paid her by our manufactures, it has been by "a forced and circuitous export to distant markets." The corresponding export is admitted; but it is forced and distant. Forced trade is a common, but not very luminous, expression in these controversies. If there is intended by it, an export at bad prices, we can only say that it is an argument only applicable to an occurrence of short duration; a trade cannot be forced and lasting. *Circuitousness* ought to furnish no objection, to an advocate for the Navigation Laws and Timber

---

* Vol. X. p. 79, et seq.

† See, on this, vol. x. p. 87.

duties; nor is the argument very consistent with the allegation, that the increase of navigation has been only in *short* voyages.

Continuing the error which we formerly exposed, of supposing that Mr. Huskisson professed to have made reciprocal arrangements *of trade* with France and other countries; Mr. Robinson complains of the disproportionate amount of our exports to France and the other countries with which we have treaties. Much of his speech was occupied upon shipping. His results appear to differ from those given in our ninth volume. He selects, arbitrarily, the year 1826. Let him take, as we do, a fair average of years preceding the change, and he will come to the same result. Unquestionably, we have brought more goods direct from France than we have sent thither; but he is mistaken in asserting that our exportation of British goods has diminished. It has increased from 256,000*l.* to 427,000*l.** Either amount is trifling; we found no argument upon this slight augmentation, but it certainly affords none against us. The export of colonial goods has decreased, owing, no doubt, to the productiveness of the foreign colonies. To Denmark, and to Russia, our exports have also have been augmented.

To Prussia there has been a slight diminution of exports; but the truth is, that a very fallacious deduction is drawn from the accounts of our trade with any one of the several states of the great German continent. A river, of which the mouth is in one country, supplies with British manufactures several others. If, upon this principle, we take "Germany, Prussia, and the Netherlands," we shall find an increase of export of no less than 2,385,000*l.*† or taking the whole of Northern Europe, of 3,692,000*l.* While all this is taken from public accounts, it is really almost incredible that any person should talk of the diminution of our commerce with the countries with which we have made reciprocity treaties, or of the diminution of our exports to those countries of which we have admitted the manufactures upon easier terms.

We have already analyzed the increase of our imports and exports according to the nature of the articles; and although it is really not necessary for our purpose, we cannot refrain from

---

* From 1823-4-5, the period immediately preceding the treaty, and the admission of French silks, to 1830. Mr. Robinson goes back to 1819, which is not the fair comparison; and he makes no distinction between British and colonial goods.

†

	1821-2-3. (*From* 379 *of* 1826.)	1830. (*From* 461 *of* 1832.)
Germany	£8,378,000	£10,208,000
Netherlands	3,932,000	4,631,000
Prussia	779,000	635,000
	£13,089,000	£15,474,000

presenting a similar analysis, distinguishing the parts of the world with which this augmented traffic has occurred.†

We regret much that we cannot also make a comparison of the declared values, not having them for the earlier period.

We promised‡ to notice an argument used by Colonel Torrens, for the necessity of reciprocity. If we understand the argument, it is this. Where money is not taxed on importation, but goods are taxed, there will be a tendency in money to increase in reference to goods, and, consequently, prices will fall. This is the case, in a country which protects its manufactures by imposing duties on goods imported. When, therefore, we purchase goods from such a country, our goods are not admitted, and we *must* pay in gold; or, our goods fetching a low price, we *in preference* pay in gold: this gold we fetch from the country where it is produced; and our continual demand for it raises its value in reference to goods, and prices generally fall. The deduction is, that we suffer inconvenience and loss from the prohibition or taxation of our goods in a country from which we import: and that a direct trade is more advantageous than a circuitous trade. The argument thus destroys not the position, that imports are necessarily purchased with equivalent exports. It goes to show, that exportation is most beneficial, when by reciprocal admission of goods, untaxed, we effect the exchange without the intervention of the expensive medium, gold. This we may grant, without conceding that it is better to have no trade at all, than the circuitous traffic which requires gold. And, if it can be made out, that the goods purchased from the prohibiting or protecting

† *Difference between* 1821-2-3 *and* 1830. *United Kingdom.*

	Imports.	Exports.		
		British and Irish Produce and Manufactures.	Foreign and Colonial Produce.	Total.
Northern Europe	4,828,000	4,117,000	*[425,000]	3,692,000
Southern Europe	1,842,000	3,320,000	*[960,000]	2,360,000
Asia and Africa	2,783,000	4,478,000	*[41,000]	4,437,000
British Northern Colonies and British West Indies	632,000	178,000	*[13,000]	165,000
United States	3,507,000	1,151,000	196,000	1,347,000
Foreign West Indies and Foreign Continental Colonies	512,000	4,810,000	283,000	5,093,000
Whale Fisheries	*[301,000]	———	*[1,000]	*[1,000]
British Isles	91,000	137,000	23,000	160,000
Total increase	£13,914,000	18,191,000	*[938,000]	17,253,000

‡ Vol. x. p. 87.

* Denotes a *decrease.*

country, are paid for, not in gold, but with credit transferred from another country to which we export, the argument from gold falls to the ground. There is no doubt, in point of fact, but that our increased importations from the protecting country, France, have been attended by a much larger increase of our exports to other countries, which do not produce gold. It is, therefore, most probable, that the French goods have been paid for by bills upon those countries. It is also true, that an enlarged exportation to the countries which do produce specie, has been accompanied by an increased import of useful commodities from those countries.

Assuredly, reciprocal admission of goods is desirable, as tending to the increased consumption of our manufactures; all that we contend for is, that reciprocity is not essentially necessary, for justifying the government in permitting its subjects to avail themselves of foreign goods.

We have read in some of the daily papers, and the argument would hardly be ventured in a more lasting repository, that the whole evil of low prices arises from this export of goods to foreign countries, which is required to pay for the goods imported under the altered system. We are forced, it is said, to send goods where there is no demand for them, except at ruinous prices, and these prices affect all others.

To this, as an argument for an alteration of our law, one sufficient answer would be found, in the smallness of the quantities of goods imported, *by favour of the new tariff*, as compared with the aggregate of our trade. It is not, we presume, intended, that because we sell our cotton manufactures cheap in Brazil, we should prohibit or tax highly the raw cotton of the United States! That portion, then, of our cheap exports, which can by probability be occasioned by *those* importations of which alone the enemies of Free Trade complain, is not a fiftieth, we might say, scarcely an hundredth part of the whole.

But let it be supposed that, yielding to this argument, we prohibited those importations, and that the export of our cottons should thereupon, according to the argument, be greatly diminished, and the prices raised. Are those results desired by those who thus argue? If they be, away flies the complaint of "British industry cramped through free trade;" for this suggestion goes to destroy the employment of great numbers of British artizans, in order to raise the value of the labour of the rest.

Assuredly the *most* desirable result of a commercial system is, that the whole people should be employed, at wages sufficient to maintain them comfortably;—the *least* desirable, that none of the

people should be employed. To the first result the present system, producing, according to the present argument, a constant progressive increase of manufacture, continually tends, though it has not attained it. To the second, a prohibitive system, which ought, according to the same persons, more and more to contract our manufacture for exportation, approaches by a course equally direct. And although the argument, as now presented to us, would still leave to our manufacturers the great market of England, we know not by what philosophy the argument is thus limited; or why the manufacturers of Lancashire ought not to pray for the rejection of their cottons by the men of Kent, from whom they unquestionably receive lower prices than they formerly had! We are far from denying, that the extension of our production has occasioned cheapness; or that progressive cheapness occasions distress. On the contrary, if we were discussing the causes of distress, we should, with Lord Liverpool, name "over-production" as one of its causes. But we contend, first, that the augmentation of foreign trade is one of the palliations of that evil; and, secondly, that the disproportionate production is not confined to this country. It is unquestionably true, that the revived and enlarged manufactories of the Continent have reduced prices there, and that, if we have any export at all, our prices must come down nearly to the same scale. We have difficulty in believing permanently settled low prices to be an evil, but *falling* prices occasion distress to producers, beyond what is compensated in benefit to the consumers. But we return to our subject.

It appears to us, that the facts and considerations which we have adduced make it perfectly clear, that the general distress, of which complaint is made, is not, and cannot be, the result of the facilities afforded, by the repeal of prohibition or reduction of duty, to the importation of foreign goods.

But we will now go through the principal foreign articles to which the new system has been applied; with the view of ascertaining, as to each particular article, the effects upon domestic production, or industry; and comparing them with the apprehensions and predictions of the parties interested.

Let us first take *iron*.* The reduction of the duties on iron is one of those cases in which the interests of the producer and manufacturer appear to be at variance, and in which, as in many others, there is an intermediate interest of those who prepare the raw article for the manufacturer. On the occasion now before us, the representatives of this intermediate interest made no oppo-

* See Vol. x. p. 92.

sition to the reduction, which the manufacturers eagerly demanded. The producer, that is the owner of the iron-mines, took no part, or left his case to the iron master. The questions to be asked are, whether the reduction has occasioned an increased importation of iron, and if so, what has been the effect upon the home produce;—whether the increased importation has been attended with an enlargement of the consumption and manufacture of iron, and of its exportation to foreign countries? It appears, then, that the importation of foreign iron in bars into Great Britain for home consumption, has increased from tons 9,885* to tons 13,325. We believe that no complaint is made of the importation of iron; it is indeed one of the articles, and the same may be said of all metals, which may be classed with raw materials; whereof the increased importation cannot, even by the advocates of a restrictive system, be alleged as an evil. Accordingly, the exportation of iron and steel, hardwares and cutlery, has increased from 1,714,000*l.*† to 2,807,000*l.*

The high duty on *copper*,‡ it was stated, prevented the importation as well of copper imperfectly smelted, as of copper in a raw state. The reduction was expected to produce an increased importation, and a reduction in price, by which even the owners of mines would benefit, by the preservation of the foreign market, which would otherwise be lost.

The expectation of an increased importation has *not* been realised. Nevertheless, the export of copper has also increased almost three-fold.§

At the same time, the exportation of *manufactures* of brass and copper has increased, from 569,975*l.* to 978,000*l.* in official, and from 555,322*l.* to 833,000*l.* in declared value. There is, assuredly, nothing in these facts of which the "copper interest" can complain.

The increase in the exportation of brass wares was one of the effects contemplated in the reduction of the duty on *spelter*.‖ It has produced an increased importation of the article itself;¶ while the exportation of brass wares has increased as above mentioned.

---

* In considering the effect of particular reductions or alterations, the general averages adopted will not be so correct as one which includes the latest year of the old regulation. The year in which the alteration took place must be omitted. In treating of the old and new system generally, it was right to exclude the whole period in which any of the material alterations were in progress; but in treating of a specific article, we must take our date from the actual period of the change. Thus, as to iron, the duty on which article was reduced in 1825, we must include 1824 in the "former period."

† Official value.

‡ Vol. x. p. 95.

§ 1822-3-4 . tons 1,150
1830-1 . 3,300

‖ P. 96.

¶ 1822-3-4 . cwts, 12
1830 . . 18,746

*Tin** was reduced, to check the exorbitant price, but there has *not* been an increased importation; or, indeed, *any* importation for home consumption.

Lead† was reduced on the same principle. The reduction has not caused the importation of any foreign lead. The price of lead has fallen, as of all other articles; but that this fall is not owing to the reduction of duty, is proved, not only by the generality of the fall, but by the continued exportation of lead to foreign countries; it cannot be necessary to prove, that while there is a surplus for exportation, no protection can keep up the price in the home market. The productiveness of the Spanish mines, though it has not annihilated, has diminished this exportation, and has helped to reduce the price of this article of extensive domestic consumption.

So much for the new measures, as affecting metals.

The reduction of the duty on cotton goods‡ was not in any quarter the subject of apprehension. Our superiority in that manufacture being well known. In point of fact, the importation of the cotton manufactures of foreign European countries, or even from India, continues to be quite inconsiderable; at the same time, the export of British manufactured cottons has increased from 25,282,007*l.* to 34,538,000*l.*; or in yards of printed and plain, from 323,233,693 to 444,578,000.§

The reduction on *earthenware* occasioned much apprehension. The importation has, in fact, not been such as even to find a place in the accounts.

The same remark applies to the kindred manufacture, *glass;* and also to *paper.*

We have already seen that, as to the new measures respecting wool, the growers and the manufacturers are at variance. The questions that occur, are—1. Whether, since the exportation of wool has been permitted, it has been extensive? 2. Whether the importation of foreign wool has been increased, since the duty was reduced? 3. Whether the reduction of the duty on the manufacture has produced an importation of foreign woollens; and 4. Whether the exportation of woollen manufactures has been enlarged since these two measures were adopted.

The exportation of British wool was, in 1830, 2,951,000lbs., a quantity not very considerable. The importation of wool, for home consumption, has increased from 19,685,000 to 30,595,000 lbs. This is certainly a considerable increase.

In the importation of foreign woollens there has been no perceptible increase. Nor has there been much variation in our

---

* P. 96. † Ib. ‡ P. 93. § In 1830.

exportation of British woollen manufactures. It has been only from

5,876,951*l.* of official, and 6,055,185*l.* of declared value, to
5,869,000*l.* of official, and 5,116,000*l.* of declared value.

The price of British wool has unquestionably fallen, though it has lately been reviving; and it is probable that this reduction is to be attributed, in some degree, to the importation of foreign wool. But it may also be attributed to the increased cheapness and consequent use of cottons; and, although complained of by the wool growers, is applauded by the manufacturers, to whom, as well as to the wearers, it is clearly beneficial. It is perhaps the most decided case of the effect of importation in the reduction of price; but the price affected is that of a raw material, and the question is rather one of balanced interests at home, than one of those generated by the transition from the old to the new system.

We now come to silk. In the last Session, a Committee sat "to examine into the present state of the silk trade, and to inquire what effects have been produced by the changes of the laws relating to it, since the year 1824, and whether any and what legislative measures, compatible with the general interests of the country, may be advisable in order to promote it, or to check smuggling in silk manufactures."

This Committee examined witnesses, whose evidence occupies more than than a thousand pages; but, as very often happens, the inquiry lasted so long as to leave no time for discussion or report. We cannot go through this huge mass of questions and answers, in which there is much of irrelevancy and repetition. We have had the good fortune to meet with a paper, prepared, we believe, by the members of the silk trade, and submitted to the Committee as the basis of a Report. We give a faithful abstract of this paper, which may be presumed to show the full extent of the case, as set forth by the warm partisans of one side.

"The last reduction," it is stated, "of duty upon thrown silk, in 1829, was followed by a reduction of wages, and great distress. The importation of fine silks having declined, more coarse is worked, which gives less employment.

"On the admission of manufactured silks in 1826, labour fell 20 per cent., and, on the reduction of duty in 1829, 20 per cent. more. This reduction of wages has enabled the manufacturer to compete with the foreigner in the plain branch, as it respects the lower and middling qualities of such silks; but the higher description of plain silks, and the rich fancy and figured branches

are now almost entirely furnished by the foreigner; and out of 4,000 looms, which were (at some time not mentioned) at work in Spitalfields upon figured and fancy silks, there are not at present 300.

"This loss of the rich trade in broad silks in Spitalfields, and of the superior class of ribbons in Coventry, has thrown thousands of people out of employ, and increased the poor-rates.

"The large silk trade carried on at Manchester has been increased since 1826. It consists of silks of a peculiar fabric, generally of a lower price, and not so directly interfered with by the continental manufacturers.

"The export trade has been greatly relieved by the drawback of 1829.

"While the silk trade has been distressed in England, it has been prosperous in France; France has great advantages, in the possession of the raw material, and in a low rate of wages, and in an export trade. These circumstances make it exceedingly difficult for the British manufacturer to preserve his trade; and, unless greater protection can be afforded to him, the rich and valuable part of the silk trade, both in broad silks and ribbons, especially in the figured and fancy gauze ribbons, which for upwards of fifty years has flourished in this country, will be lost.

"Smuggling has been carried on to a much greater extent since 1826 than it was under the prohibition. The reduction of duties in 1829, for the purpose of diminishing smuggling, has failed in its object."

These are the statements of the silk manufacturer; and they are valuable as containing *all*, or very nearly all, that has been adduced in the shape of specific allegation of injury or evil consequence against "Free Trade."

These statements are followed by fifteen distinct propositions; among which we have the only suggestions which have been offered for an alteration of the law. We give these propositions at length, with our remarks:—

"1. That the preservation and promotion of the throwing trade are essential to the welfare of the silk manufacture of this country.

"2. That it is of paramount importance to obtain a large supply of the best raw silk, and that our laws should be framed with a view to induce the French and Italians to make this country a mart for their raw silk.

"3. That in all cases in which good raw silk is made use of, the silk thrown in this country is equal to any thrown in Italy, and is suited to the manufacture of every description of silk goods.

"4. That the reduction of duties on foreign thrown silks, in 1829, has had an injurious effect on the throwing trade of this country.

"5. That it is expedient that the duty on foreign thrown organzine be restored to 5*s.* per pound, and that on foreign thrown tram to 3*s.* per pound."

It will be seen that, in this paper, the throwsters and the weavers unite; formerly, the weavers called for a reduction of duty on thrown silk, the material of their manufacture. If the present union have any other reason, than that of forming a more extended combination against free trade, it seems to show that the weavers cannot depend upon an import of thrown silk sufficient for their work. If this import be not enough to supply the weavers, it cannot be enough to ruin the throwsters. But the working throwsters, it is said, are injured, because less of their finer material is imported, and the coarser affords less employment. Supposing this to be true, it must be owing to the diminished demand for it by the weavers;—this may be valid as an illustration of the weaver's case, but is a questionable reason for making him pay a higher tax for that material when imported. It is clear that if the manufacture of these finer silks has declined, the remedy is, rather, in a reduction of the duty on the part-manufactured material. Parliament acted fairly in reducing the protection on both branches simultaneously. If the wages of throwsters fell upon the reduction, we apprehend that, after a restoration of the higher duty, the weavers would soon have to complain of an increased price of thrown silk; and their distress might operate again upon the throwsters.

Between the throwster and the weaver, it is not a question of free trade or restriction. It is a nice question of adjustment, between two manufacturing interests, which must occur, under a restrictive system, and from which there is no escape but in a system perfectly free. We proceed with the resolutions.

"6. That the effect of the present system in the silk trade has been a great change in the character of the goods manufactured in this country; the making of goods of a low price, and of a coarse texture, having been substituted for the fine, rich, and fancy goods formerly made.

"7. That it is essential to the prosperity of the silk manufacture in this country, to preserve the higher branches, especially the figured and fancy branches of the trade.

"8. That under the present system, it seems unlikely that the manufacture of figured and fancy silk goods can be continued in this country.

"9. That there has been sufficient evidence of the ability of the English manufacturers and artisans to produce every article of taste, equal *intrinsically* to those produced in France.

"10. That in order to preserve these valuable branches of the British silk manufacture, it is expedient that no figured and fancy silk goods or ribbons of foreign manufacture be allowed to be imported into this country for home consumption."

These propositions contain nearly the whole of the case of the silk trade. The French compete with us successfully in fine, rich, and, above all, in *fancy* goods. This we are prepared to admit; we will not say that there is in France altogether more of that refined feeling, and quick perception, which constitute *taste;* but we do fear that there is more of that description of taste, which is conversant in dress, and in all the lighter ornaments. We believe that the legal admission of French silks has augmented the demand for goods of this description; but we do not admit that the demand is supplied entirely by foreigners, or that there is not an equal consumption of fancy articles, made at home. The whole is enormously increased, and probably the increase of consumption is greater than the increase of importation.

But, admitting that we have not read all the evidence upon this subject, we will concede the 6th and 8th propositions; and admit that the "figured and fancy trade" is in great distress, and in danger of destruction.

To the 7th we demur.

That the silk manufacture is not entirely prosperous if an important branch be destroyed, is a truism. But it does not necessarily follow, from the loss of that branch, that there is not on the whole, as much or more of work upon silk, than before. The increased importation, and use, of the raw material, from two millions to four millions of pounds,* is undenied and undeniable. At first, there were allegations of stocks previously low, occasional stimulus, unsuccessful speculation, and so forth; but it is now quite certain, that "Free Trade" has been followed by a largely increased use of silk in our manufactories. The proposed Report takes no notice whatever of this undoubted fact; but we know that the usual allegation is, that this enormous quantity of silk is used, either in plain and coarse goods, or in goods compounded of silk and cotton, or silk and sheep's wool; manufactures which the silkmen disclaim. No man who wears a waistcoat can doubt, that new varieties of manufacture have been introduced.

A manufacturer of pure silk may treat these with contempt, but if they are in themselves very useful and comfortable, and afford employment to thousands, the country has no reason to complain, nor has the silkman, more than any other man, the button-maker for instance, who suffers from a change of fashion. Could we pursue details, we could show that in this very article of a waistcoat, the cotton interest had been injured by the woollen, and afterwards both by the silk; there is surely no cause for

* See p. 146, *ante.*

lamentation, if ingenuity has devised a fabric, in which these rival stuffs unite in harmony.

The ninth proposition affirms, that Englishmen can produce every article of taste, equal, *intrinsically*, to the French. What is meant by the intrinsic goodness of an article of taste? Is it meant that the English make gauze ribbons, which answer the purpose of gauze ribbons, as well as those made in France, though they are not so pretty? Is it intended to distinguish between the useful and the ornamental purpose? Is it meant that English ribbons will hold as fast, and are really as pretty as the French, though Englishwomen will not think so? Is it seriously intended to affirm that there is an *intrinsic* beauty of colour or pattern, independent of fashion, caprice, or fancy? We contend for the right of our countrywomen to judge for themselves. If the taste of a Lyonese manufacturer, or a Parisian milliner, happens to suit their fancy, though it be not *intrinsically* better, they have a right to gratify themselves, paying honestly; and the legislature has no more right or reason of interference than it would have, to prescribe, in lieu of ribbands made from a foreign material, leathern thongs made of English hides, or list made of English wool.

This brings us to the tenth proposition, which is valuable, as being, after all that has been written, and said, and petitioned, concerning free trade, and the revival of the ancient and wholesome statutes, a departure from which has brought ruin upon the country,—the one only distinct suggestion of an alteration of the law. As a cure for all this distress, it is proposed to prohibit all fancy and figured silks!

Then comes the 11th resolution:—

"That this Committee are of opinion, that the plain silk goods made in England may be protected by a duty of 30 per cent.; 10 per cent. of which should be levied *ad valorem*, and the remainder by the pound weight."

This, which suggests an alteration, not very extensive, in the rate and form of the duty, does not require particular comment. Then come two, for giving effect to the suggestions of prohibition and higher protection, namely,

"12. That all silk goods imported into this country be stamped.

"13. That all extensive violations of the Revenue Laws, as it respects silk manufactures, be punishable by imprisonment and hard labour, in addition to such pecuniary penalties as the parties guilty of such violations are now liable to."

We trust that the warmest advocate of the old system will require a strong case to be made out before he consents to enact vexations and penalties like these! We own, that we would have no mercy upon the smuggler in high life; but it is surely no in-

considerable objection to a system, that it requires to be enforced by additional and severe punishments, affecting perhaps persons who are tempted to crime by those who ought to have taught them morality and obedience to the laws. The suggestion itself illustrates the difficulty of enforcing the prohibition. The increased difficulty of procuring the French silks would, there is no doubt, increase the desire to possess them: and the temptation to evade the law would be proportionably greater. We know that the stamp has been often considered, and rejected as inefficient. After all, then, it is very doubtful, whether the makers of fancy goods in England would obtain any advantage from the vexatious and penal regulations which are proposed. Is it then worth while, for the sake of a very questionable benefit to one branch of one trade, to give new and increased vexatiousness to a commercial system, which fiscal reasons already make so burthensome? We say, without hesitation, that it would be much better to lose this particular branch of manufacture, of which it surely cannot be said, that it is so exclusive and singular, that those who are engaged in it cannot earn their livelihood in any other way. Perhaps, indeed, by giving even more of facility to the produce of French taste, we might at once diminish the preference now given to it, and improve our own manufacture.

The 14th* resolution contains a suggestion of "Reciprocity:"—

"14. That in the case of any country producing raw silk, and not allowing its free exportation to England, the silk manufactured goods of that country be prohibited."

This has assuredly more of reason in it than most of the suggestions of reciprocity, because, in both its parts, it affects the same interest. It is not, like the mutual interchange of woollens and silks, with razors and ribbons, an absurd thing to be asked; and if it were probable that the French would be induced, by our prohibition of their manufactures, to permit the exportation of the raw silk, it might not be unreasonable or impolitic to be granted. But the difficulty of enforcing the prohibition would probably be increased, when applied to the goods of one country in particular. It is open, too, to all the objections of a war of restrictions. Still, we do not deny that the suggestion is a fit subject for the pending discussion with the French government.

The petition from Lyons can hardly fail to forward the objects of this negotiation. A mutual and amicable arrangement of interests is therein strongly recommended; and the abandonment of those prohibitions which have the appearance of hostility, is

* The 15th resolution is applicable to a matter of detail, concerning handkerchiefs from India.

particularly urged. Although we retain our objections to detailed stipulations, and cannot pretend that a general prohibition to export raw silk from France can be viewed as a hostile measure, we do think that when such sentiments prevail at Lyons, our easy admission of manufactured goods may be usefully contrasted with the French refusal of their raw material; and if any retributory measure can be devised, that shall be good in practice, there is nothing in our theory to condemn it.

Our observations and conclusions concerning silk certainly bear a small proportion to the bulk of the evidence offered to the committee. But we have done full justice to the manufacturers, because we have taken for granted all that they have put forward as the result of the inquiry, and the ground of their suggestions. We are not at all satisfied, that even the limited case which is supposed to be made out, may not be overturned; but as ours is not a particular discussion of the silk trade, but a general inquiry into the consequences of the late measures, we are quite content to admit all that the impugners of those measures have alleged; namely,—for this is the whole and sole answer to the challenge thrown out to them,—that, in one branch of one manufacture, some loss has been occasioned, through the importation of foreign goods.

We undertook* to show, that even in the few branches which have suffered by competition, it is doubtful whether British industry, even in those particular branches, has not been enlarged by the change. If we consider the "figured and fancy silks" as a branch of manufacture by themselves, we are not prepared to say that the loss in Spitalfields has been compensated elsewhere; but, taking all sorts of work upon silk together, it has been amply shown, that there has been a considerable enlargement: and, in fact, it is to this enlargement of the domestic manufacture, and the transfer of it from one to another position, more than to any importations from abroad, that the distresses of the silk weavers, in those places in which they have suffered more than other manufacturers, are justly to be ascribed.

We are aware that those who framed the measures regarding silk, did not avow, as we have done, the probability of injury accruing to the domestic manufacture. Their anticipations rather dwelt upon an improvement in the manufacture, leading to an extended export, and they regarded the duty which they substituted for prohibition, and which they estimated at 30 per cent.,

* Vol. x. p. 102.

as not only the highest which the smuggler would allow to be collected, but a "fair" protection against foreign competition. It is to be inferred, that they considered the duty equal to the difference of the cost, at which English and French silks, respectively, could meet in the English market.

There are even passages in the speeches of former ministers, and especially of Lord Goderich, in which an expectation was expressed, of a successful competition in continental markets.

Although the degree in which the competition of foreigners has been successful in the home market is a matter of dispute, it is quite clear that this sanguine anticipation of foreign markets has not been realized.

There may be here, and in other points, a good argument *ad hominem*, against some of the authors of the silk laws; we defend measures, not men.

Those who ascribe extensive consequences to "Free Trade," ought to ask themselves, what "Free Trade," or rather, the acts of Parliament to which they are pleased to give that designation, *can* have done? It has caused, they say, a fall in prices, profits, and wages. *Can* it have produced these consequences, in respect of any commodities, other than those in which there has been a competition with foreigners? We should answer, Certainly not, in other goods than those brought from abroad, or in goods for which the imported articles have been substituted; unless, indeed, the number of workmen discharged in consequence of the introduction of the foreign goods has been so great as to occasion a superabundance of hands, and a general fall of wages; and in that case, though the condition of the workmen would be deteriorated, that of the manufacturer, dealer, or consumer,—one, or all of them, must be ameliorated.

Thus, admitting for the moment, that the foreign silks have superseded the use of English silks, and injured every branch of that trade, and all concerned in it, it is *possible*, that the French silks might have also superseded the English cottons; all persons engaged upon cotton would thus have partaken of the misfortunes of the silkman; and it is also *possible*, that so many silk-weavers and cotton-spinners might have been turned off, as to lower wages in the woollen manufactories, or even in less kindred employments; though it is not very easy to imagine that iron-workers, cutlers, sugar-bakers, or printers, would have been much affected by these occurrences in the silk, cotton, or wool trades.

Now, will any man say, first, that there has been an increased competition in any article except silks; or, secondly, that (excepting the first which we admit for the present) any one of these,

the utmost consequences that *could* follow, have followed upon the importation of silk? Is it pretended that silks have superseded cottons? Have not, on the contrary, cottons increased so much, as to have, with much greater probability, occasioned the losses of the silk-weavers? Will it be said that any one man has been turned out of a cotton-mill, in consequence of the importation of silk? By what process, then, is it assumed—by what process is it possible—that the importation of silk has affected manufactures generally?

We do not want an answer in the terms of political economy; we want a plain answer by a man who has never read Adam Smith. When one tells us, by removing prohibition, or reducing duties, you make French silks cheaper than English; and a lady who used to buy gowns made in Spitalfields, now buys gowns made at Lyons; and the Spitalfields people thus lose their employment, and their subsistence, we understand him. We may deny the fact; we may say that there is compensation, in this way or that; we may say that he ought to suffer for the good of the community, but we cannot say that his averment is not intelligible, possible, and probable. But when he tells us that this lady's purchase of the French gown from Messrs. Leaf and Coles, brings distress upon Alderman Thompson's Iron Works at Merthyr-Tydvil, we are puzzled. This gentleman, we say, must be a great theorist, a man of extensive, if not of extravagant, speculation, a professor of some abstruse science, an abstract reasoner, *a philosopher*.

We contend, that it neither has been shown nor can be shown, that any *general* declension has taken place in the commerce of the country, still less that any reduction which has occurred in its profits, or in the condition or number of workmen employed, is attributable to the new measures.

It may be admitted that an importation of a foreign commodity much too small to diminish materially the native industry employed upon the same article, may, nevertheless, have a considerable effect upon its price. And we will not, in this place, deny that the price of some, a very few, British commodities, has been lowered in consequence of the actual, or apprehended competition of foreign commodities.

But our present concern is with the alleged reduction of profits and wages, and consequent general distress in all the branches of industry;—many of which are not at all affected by foreign importation. When we see that, on the whole, there is a great augmentation of quantity, indicated by the increased import of the raw article, and an increased export of the manufactures: when we see this result evident in the most extensive of all our manufactures, and one of which the material is

exclusively foreign, while there is not the shadow of foreign competition in the manufactured article, how is it possible to ascribe the lowness of profit and wages (which is admitted) to any cause connected with foreign importation?

It is not at all certain, nor indeed is it probable, that those articles which have experienced an extension of quantity, and a diminution of value, would have obtained the one without the other. This is, no doubt, true in regard to home consumption, but it is more undeniably true in respect of exportation. Can it be believed that we should continue to compete successfully with the continental manufacturers, to whom peace has restored so great facilities, without the aid of a great reduction of price?

These are great palliations of the evil, (if it be one,) of low profits and wages; but, whatever may be the extent or intensity of the evil, it cannot be traced to the new measures. It has been said often, but must be repeated here, that the very allegation of universality negatives the partial cause. We have seen already, in how very inconsiderable a proportion, the measures which have faclitated importation, can possibly have affected industry in the aggregate; we have seen, too, how very slightly the importation can have affected the very few particular articles which can have directly felt any effect at all from it. And can we, with the slightest appearance of truth or probability, ascribe to the importation of a few articles, not amounting to one thirty-seventh part of our whole importation, the general effect of a reduction of profits, wages, and prices among all branches of industry; not those alone which have been exposed to increased competition, but those also which date from the same measures, augmented facilities of fabrication and exportation?

We hear, at present, even more of the pauperism of our agricultural labourers, than of the distress of our manufacturers; is *this* owing to free trade: are the farmers and their labourers, producers of protected corn, poorer because all manufactures are cheaper?

We might add, that it is well known that there is great and similar distress in *other countries* in those very branches of industry which we allege to be suffering from the competition of those very countries.

The extent, however, or the origin, of the general distress, is not our subject; it is enough for our purpose to have shown that the reduction of duty upon certain articles, which reduction has acquired the name of "Free Trade"—is not the cause of that distress, be it more or less extensive.

The partial evil of which we have admitted the existence, is an almost unavoidable consequence of the transition from restriction

to freedom in our commercial system. Neither capital nor industry is readily transferred from one mode of employment to another; and even though it be true that, on the whole, and eventually, the new system furnishes a more profitable employment of capital, and still more, a more extensive demand for labour, it is possible that these effects will not be felt immediately; nor will the compensation afforded by the new channels be enjoyed by the individuals who suffer through the loss of the old. In considering then the way in which the transition has, in our case, been managed, we hold that no degree of artificial management, no departure from systematic policy, can be reprehensible, which is intended to mitigate the severity of the transition; always provided, that, however slowly, we are moving towards our end.

But our difficulty consists in this; all that we do to avoid a harsh operation of our improvements, operates as a stimulus. While we intend only to let capital be gradually withdrawn, and labour transferred by degrees, we are actually giving a bounty to the more extensive application of both, in the direction from which we desire to divert it.

This, we apprehend, has happened to the silk manufacture. And it is questionable whether a more rapid and effectual withdrawal of protection would not have occasioned less of injury to those engaged in it, than the gradual process which has been adopted.

Perhaps, where there has been a prohibition, the fairest course to take in the first instance, is, to impose *the highest duty which can be collected*; that is, generally, a duty exceeding by a little, (perhaps five per cent) the rate at which the goods can be imported in contraband trade. But it is obvious, that if the article so taxed be one also produced in this country, perhaps, if there be here an article which may be substituted for it,—and that article is not subject to a corresponding tax,—we must not retain this tax permanently; if we do not lower the duty it still remains *a protective duty*, obnoxious to the objections urged against the restrictive system. And if the article be one, as many are, which from its form, or fabric, is not liable to be smuggled, our duty, kept at the highest rate, will be *prohibitory*, and equal in its effects to an absolute prohibition.

On such articles, therefore, and indeed, on all articles, looking to considerations of revenue merely, we should impose, not the highest rate of duty which can be collected, but the rate of duty which will produce the largest amount of revenue; which is often, as we very well know, increased more by a moderate than by a high duty. If we thus regulate our tariff by considerations of revenue, our imposts upon foreign articles, will, or will not, be

protective of our native industry, according to a variety of incidental circumstances. Suppose the foreign article to be one whereof the consumption here can be greatly extended, and which is made better and cheaper than our native production; financial motives will induce us to fix the duty at the point of greatest productiveness: which point may, probably, be too low for protection against the superior cheapness of the foreign article.

On the other hand, if the commodity be one which, from whatever causes, can be more cheaply produced in England, the lowest duty will be a protection; or rather, the article will protect itself, without any duty.

And, according to the principles which we have endeavoured to maintain, there is in this state of the matter, and in these various effects of the same revenue system, nothing inconsistent with sound policy; or with the principles and prayer of the merchants' petition.

But, in effecting the transition to this policy, from a system of prohibition and restriction, it may be allowable, not at once to reduce the duties to the point at which they will be most productive. To the point at which they will destroy the profits of the smuggler, they must be reduced, in regard as well to the interests of the domestic producer, as to the revenue. This was the principle upon which the silk duties were lowered in 1829, when Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald and Mr. Courtenay were at the Board of Trade. But we may fairly pause, and proceed gradually, in reducing the duties to that lower point at which the enlarged consumption will produce a greater revenue. This gradual abatement of duty is all that we can do, by way of lightening the harshness of the operation, upon domestic producers, of the transition from the one system to the other. The main point to be attended to, in the management of this gradual process is, to make it clearly understood that the regard which we pay to the principle of protection is only *temporary*, and that any more lasting effect which our financial measures may have in protecting domestic productions, is accidental, and furnishes no claim for the continuance of protection.

But here is another difficulty! so far as the profits of the capitalists are concerned, we may fairly say, you knew what you were about; you had fair warning; if our measures diminish your profits you have no more right to complain than have other merchants, or manufacturers, on any other of the numerous occasions in which they suffer from change of circumstances. But the situation of the artizans and labourers who may be thrown out of employ is not exactly the same with that of their masters. These poor persons could not be expected to calculate, for themselves, the effects of political measures; and moreover,

if, as is probable, there is not merely a tolerable diminution, but an entire loss of wages, they are involved in misery, and become, by our law technically and avowedly, but really and in truth by the law of every state, and by the nature of things, burthensome upon the community at large. Our feelings of humanity, and a consideration of our own interests and of the public peace, would therefore deter us from reducing them to this extremity.

We do not mention this consideration as justifying a departure from the rule of proceeding gradually, but still proceeding, from the restrictive to the free system; but it assuredly increases greatly the difficulty of the transition; because it displays a manifest and a palpable evil, to be balanced against a speculative and less apparent good. This is what the opponents of free trade mean, when they insist upon practice as opposed to theory.

We are not prepared to say that the transition can be effected, without producing an actual increase of distress somewhere; or even, that there will not be, for a time, an increase on the whole: but we have shown that in the present case, the distress occasioned by the change of system, cannot have extended beyond a number of persons comparatively small, relative to those from whom the general extension of employment which has followed that change must have averted it.

When to these considerations is added the conviction, that the free system is, on the whole, beneficial to the people, that every individual partakes, in his degree, of that general benefit, and that, although each man's share of each separate benefit is scarcely perceptible, his share of the whole is considerable, we cannot doubt of the propriety of extending the system cautiously, and by degrees, to all commodities not connected with subsistence or security,* notwithstanding the local and temporary pressure which even the most gradual application of it may possibly occasion.

It may be remarked here, that embarrassments similar to those which attend the transition from a restricted to a free system are liable to arise in every case in which duties operate, though unintentionally and inadvertently, as a protection to native industry.

The opposers of free trade, as well as its advocates, are apt to object to our present system, that it is not perfectly free trade. There are still protecting duties not only upon corn, but upon manufactures. Corn, we repeat, stands, and ought to stand, by itself; but so much of the duty upon foreign manufactures as is collected for any other purpose than revenue, we admit to be

* It will be seen, that these exceptions are made, because corn and shipping have been put aside from the present discussion.

inconsistent with the principles which we have laid down; and trust that we shall at no distant period be enabled to say, that no duties or regulations exist which are not essential to the revenue.

It is not fair to say, that there is not free trade, because certain articles are taxed on importation. If the tax, whether on importation or home manufacture, be only such as to produce the largest revenue, it can no more be condemned as a restraint upon commerce, than assessed taxes are restraints upon building, and employing horses, carriages, or servants. Revenue, however raised, must produce restraint or inconvenience somewhere; it is enough for the principle of free trade, that such restriction is not the object of the tax; and that its amount is not enhanced with any other than a fiscal intention. An import duty is, strictly speaking, a commercial and not a fiscal tax, when the article to which it is attached, or the corresponding article, if there be one, is duty-free, when grown or made at home. Sometimes, however, even in this case, the motive may be financial, as when a tax is laid on importation, as an easy mode of raising revenue; such a tax being less vexatious in the collection than a tax upon internal production or consumption. To preserve the true principle in such cases, it is only necessary to fix the duty at the point of greatest productiveness.

Upon these grounds we think that our tariff still requires amendment; and that the silk duties, in particular, which are so high as to encourage smuggling, ought still to be lowered.

This suggestion does not imply an opinion, that "the transition has not been prudently managed."* We have no fault to find in this respect with Mr. Huskisson or his successors: the step in the march of true principle may properly be slow, if it be steady and straightforward.

Probably, the effects of what has been done already have not been so operative, either for good or evil, as is on either side pretended. We trust that we have shown that the evil *cannot* be very great, and that, except in general assertion, even the *alleged* evil is small. We have shown that, whether in consequence of the new measures, or in spite of them, our commerce and navigation have been greatly extended; that there has been more of employment for the people engaged in trade and manufacture.

And if there be much in the situation of our farmers, and their labourers, and of our manufacturers, tradesmen, and artizans, which vexes the statesman, and puzzles the philosopher, the prejudiced and the sophist alone can ascribe it to "Free Trade."

---

* Vol. x. p. 102.

ART. VII.—1. *Un Elezione di Membri del Parlamento in Inghilterra,* del Signor Giuseppe Pecchio. Lugano, 1826. sm. 8vo.
2. *Osservazioni semi-serie di* un Esule *sull' Inghilterra.* Lugano, 1831. 8vo.

ENGLAND has perhaps incurred more than its share of the misrepresentation which every civilized country must expect to receive at the hands of foreign travellers. Nor is it difficult to discern the reason. The habits and institutions of England are essentially different from those of the continent. We differ from other European nations in the externals of life, in those points which fall first under the observation of the traveller, more than any of those nations differ from each other; and the master-key which would unlock the knowledge of many peculiarities on the other side of the channel, is comparatively useless on this. We are a reserved people—we unbosom ourselves little to each other—and still less to those who are of another country. We are not a demonstrative people—the drama of life is not acted by us as if it were a drama—is not acted as if we sought observation and applause, and least of all, the applause of foreigners. Our characteristic is the pride which locks up its feelings and motives—not the vanity which would lay them open. We are a domestic people—our lives are comparatively little before the public—but we enclose ourselves in that sanctuary "home," into which the stranger cannot come; and if he thinks he has entered and viewed this sanctuary, he is probably mistaken.

But besides all this, there is perhaps no country which sets speculation more at defiance—no country more calculated to perplex the theorizer, who might visit it, not with a patient spirit of careful inquiry, but with a disposition to draw extensive inferences from a few prominent facts, and to accommodate results to what, by very legitimate rules of reasoning, he might have demonstrated they ought to be. In a country which acknowledges so largely the dominion of reason, the foreign semi-philosopher will be surprised to find so much, for which, by the application of logical rules, he cannot account. It is not a country in which the traveller can say with certainty: "thus it is in this case, and thus, therefore, must it be in that." There is little here of rule and compass; little that looks regular upon paper, and can easily be embodied in a systematic classification. It is a land of anomalies. We are, it is true, a methodical and a reasoning people, but we show our reason, not in forming regular and novel systems, but in engrafting our novelties upon a stock which is old. In our institutions and customs, we have some things that

are feudal; some things that may have arisen from accident, rather than from design,—whose origin is obscure, and which have outlived the circumstances that gave them birth; and all these we retain, and *wisely*, because we are used to them, and because we would apply the cementing force of habit, to give that union of strength and pliability which the best devised novelty can seldom possess in an equal degree.

If England is calculated to perplex the philosophic traveller, it is perhaps still less suitable for the superficial sketcher, the butterfly flutterer from pleasure to pleasure, the play-going, picture-seeking, rout-frequenting tourist.

"England," says Count Pecchio, "is formed rather for our study than for our amusement. It is a vast book of science. Its theatres are the arsenals of Deptford and Portsmouth, or the East and West India docks; its pictures are the manufactures of Glasgow, of Manchester, of Leeds, of Halifax; its Coliseum, its arches, and arenas, are the smoking forges and workshops, with which whole districts are covered; its *Champs Elysées* are its mines of iron in Wales, of tin in Devonshire, and of coal at Newcastle. England is not the enchanted isle of Alcina, where men pass their days in song and laughter, only in the end to vegetate or become brutes. The English are the *men* of Europe; they laugh little, perhaps too little, but in its stead they think how to render life least unhappy, and to soften and educate the grosser qualities of human nature."

Among those who have misrepresented England, the majority, strange to say, have belonged to that nation which may justly be considered one of the most acute and enlightened in the world. There is scarcely in modern times a more faulty and ridiculous body of literature than that of French works upon England, from the commencement of the eighteenth century to about ten years ago. Even the genius and acuteness of Voltaire seemed to become obscured and feeble, when he attempted to treat of the manners, institutions and literature of this island; and as for the inferior fry of French writers on England, the Grosleys, Mezlhiacs, Levises and Pillets, if they do not irritate us by their libels, it is because we are rather moved to laughter by their absurdities. But latterly the French have cast aside that Chinese veil of ignorant presumption which so long impeded the free exercise of their natural intelligence, and led them to estimate everything by a narrow standard of their own; and they have also, we trust, laid aside that unworthy jealousy which once caused them to feel a pleasure in the wilful depreciation of England. A better spirit has arisen, and France has amply redeemed its credit. We do not class among French works on England, (although in that language), that of M. Simond, one of the most candid and obser-

vant of travellers—for his extraction we believe was Swiss, and he had lived many years in the United States of North America. The works to which we would principally allude, are those of Baron de Staël, Charles Dupin and Cottu, which are no less monuments to the honour of England than to the candour, research and penetration of the writers.

Of inferior pretensions, and less depth and extent of research, but fully equal in candour, and perhaps also in the clearness and correctness of observation which they display, are the two pleasing little volumes of the Italian author before us. Count Pecchio, who is already favourably known as the biographer of Foscolo, has given us rather unconnectedly, but at the same time sensibly and agreeably, the results of his experience during a residence of many years in this country. He appears to have come hither (a refugee from political causes) in 1823; to have resided successively in London, Nottingham and York, supporting himself during part of that time by teaching the Italian language, and mixing much with various classes, and observing with an attentive eye many varieties of English life. In his "Ossservazioni di un Esule," which he tells us in his modest preface, is like a Spanish *olla podrida*, he discourses on our houses—tea gardens—sailors—parliaments—roads—fairs—education—country sports—assizes—dissenters, and lunatic asylums. These heterogeneous subjects are here enumerated in the order in which they occur, from whence it will be evident that methodical arrangement does not constitute one of the merits of this work. At the same time it must be said, that they are all treated with good sense, and in a spirit of candour and sincere desire to do justice to the various themes. We are much struck too with the prepossessing tone of amiability and good humour which pervades this volume. There is in it nothing cynical or caustic—no crabbed exercise of discernment in the detection of blots; no evidence of the low ambition of saying smart things at the expense of truth. The sunshine of life is preferred to the shade, and whenever there is a slight departure from perfect correctness of representation, it is almost invariably on the favourable side. The author's misfortunes have not soured him, nor, as might have been feared in one so circumstanced, does he speak with bitterness of the errors of Italy, or with envy of the prosperity of England. Of this country he speaks admiringly and gratefully, perhaps in some instances gives us more credit than we deserve, and is altogether one of the most flattering pourtrayers we have ever known. In his politics he is liberal, and at the same time temperate, to a degree which was perhaps hardly to be expected in one who entertained so deep a sense of Italian misgovernment,

and whom indignation might probably have driven into violent and extreme opinions. He thus describes the motley assemblage of *liberaux*, unfortunate like himself, who about the same time sought refuge in England.

"In 1823 London was peopled with exiles of every kind and of every country. Constitutionalists advocating a single legislative chamber—constitutionalists advocating two chambers—constitutionalists on the French model—others on the Spanish model—others on the American—generals, dismissed presidents of republics, presidents of parliaments dissolved at the point of the bayonet, presidents of Cortes dispersed by cannon, the widow of the black king Christophe, with two princesses her daughters, sablests of negresses of the legitimate blood-royal; Iturbide, dethroned emperor of Mexico, and a swarm of journalists, poets, and men of letters. London was the Elysium (a satirist would say the Botany Bay) of illustrious men, and heroes *manqués*. To whoever might have seen the parliament of Naples, the hall of the cortes of Madrid, or the cortes of Lisbon, what must have been the surprise to find himself at the Italian opera, in London, with general Pepe, general Mina, the orators Arguelles and Galiano, the president Isturiz, Moura. &c., jostling in the crowd against the ambassadors from governments which had denounced them! It was in truth a kind of magic spectacle, worthy of Merlin. Many times the opera-house in London put me in mind of that enchanted palace in Ariosto, where so many knights friendly and hostile, ran past each other up and down the stairs without the power either of escape or combat."

Many of these exiles became in their turn what are called "lions" in London society; and our author seems thoroughly to appreciate the value and durability of the homage which they received in that capacity.

"Soon curiosity passed away; and the *Lions* were buried in oblivion. There is no other such vast tomb as London for swallowing up illustrious names. It is an all-devouring ocean. The celebrity of a man in London sparkles and vanishes like a fire work. There are great throngings round him, great invitations, great eulogiums, great exaggerations for a few days, and afterwards a perpetual silence. The names of Paoli and Dumourier, which at their first appearance were powerful as the thunder, made at their death no more sound than a falling leaf. General Mina, when he disembarked at Plymouth, was carried in triumph to the hotel, and deafened with applause at the theatre, and in London for a whole month he was more famous than the lion of Nemea. But what was the result? He sunk soon into oblivion, and the tomb closed upon his name."

Count Pecchio's life in this country does not appear to have been one of idleness. He assumed for his support the occupation of an Italian teacher; and describes pleasantly his first visit to the house of an English clergyman in that capacity. The insight which he thus obtained into the domestic interior of

English life seems to have inspired him with much respect for the household virtues of this land; and, without endowing us with the unsuitable romantic attributes which our foreign admirers are sometimes willing to ascribe, he speaks of us in a discriminating tone of praise, creditable alike to the eulogist and his subject. His occupation as teacher naturally directed his attention a good deal to the subject of education, and the observations which he makes upon this extensive topic are, with few exceptions, sound and judicious.

He admires the well-constituted intercourse and happy terms which so frequently subsist between parents and children—the mild consideration of the former, and the respectful freedom of the latter—the care bestowed upon the disposition, the repression of ebullitions of temper, and the wholesome lives of temperance and activity which young people are caused to lead. Count Pecchio is alluding only to *home* education, and, we presume, knows little of our public schools, or the tenor of his remarks would probably have been less eulogistic. There is much well-expressed truth in the following:

"Liberty is the mistress of every thing in England. The restrictions employed are few, and such only as are indispensable. Their trees are rarely pollarded, or distorted, or clipped, but grow luxuriantly, spreading in the parks and fields as nature prompts; their pleasure-grounds are not made symmetrical, but in imitation of nature; their houses are not constructed with a view to architectural ornament at the expense of internal convenience; but whatever may be the irregularities of the outward design, they are almost always well arranged and commodious within. Their horses are not fretted or cramped with useless exercises and artificial paces, but are strong, spirited, and very swift. Here, finally, education is rather a rule, a guide, than a system of coercive modelling. The English are, of all highly civilized people, those who depart least from nature."

Count Pecchio, in order to prove that he is not a blind admirer of anything that is done in this country, then tells us there are two things in our system of education of which he cannot approve;—one of these is "excess of reading," especially at an early age. The other may excite a smile of surprise in those who are not prepared for the very extensive meaning which Count Pecchio is inclined to attach to the word "education." It is "the prevalence of tight-lacing with females." Though we cannot admit that a reprehension of this practice finds its place very naturally in the midst of strictures on education, we will say, that we believe the physical evils he complains of, as resulting from it, are pretty generally acknowledged; but that it is no longer necessary to denounce a custom which comparatively prevails so little. With

respect to "reading," we concur with him in much that he says. We believe it is too much the practice of English parents and teachers to *force* the mind at an early age. "The intellectual education," as he says, "is made to begin at three years old;" and though there may be little harm in its *beginning* then, it should assuredly be prosecuted with peculiar gentleness and moderation. It is better, while children are very young, to bestow attention upon the cultivation of their moral than of their intellectual qualities, to improve the disposition rather than to load the memory with knowledge which is not yet convertible. The infrequency of early prodigies retaining their intellectual superiority, and producing much good fruit in mature life, is a practical illustration of the impolicy of the forcing system, even where it has seemed most successful. It is, moreover, the published opinion of an eminent physician, that extreme cultivation of the intellectual faculties, previous to the age of *seven*, is injurious both to mind and body, and may even be regarded as a proximate cause of the increased prevalence of insanity. Count Pecchio's objections to excessive reading among adults are not very serious, nor particularly valid. He says,

"When Rousseau wrote his *Emile*, in England they read very little, and perhaps too little. But now they read too much. There is such an inundation of poetry, novels, romances, and periodicals, that many intellects must be quite smothered under them. . . . The mind has not time to digest this incessant feast. The romance of this week makes one forget that of the preceding, as one wave obliterates another. It happened to me several times to ask one youth or another, what was the plot of a romance he had read a few months before. He had scarcely more than a faint recollection of it, as if it had been a dream. A more certain inconvenience, resulting from this assiduous reading, is the weakness of sight, which is very common in England. I don't know if this opinion of mine is correct; because English education, especially that of the mind, has undergone an alteration within the last twenty years. The effects, whether good or bad, of this assiduous and irregular reading cannot hitherto have rendered themselves visible. We shall require twenty years more in order to judge with accuracy whether, with regard to solidity of judgment and vigour of body, the consequence has been gain or loss."

We willingly acknowledge the justice of the last two sentences. As for the alleged alteration in the system of English education, within the last twenty years, we do not know to what he alludes. That "certain" inconvenient result—"weakness of sight," which he says is "very common in England," is much more common in France and Germany. His instances of forgetfulness of the plot of a romance are not powerfully conclusive. He does not tell us that this forgetfulness is to be attributed solely to the vast deal that had been read subsequently; and he must not be too sure that it is not feigned. There are many who would plead forget-

fulness, rather than undergo the trouble of giving an account of what they had been reading. Besides, in the case of mere light reading—reading undertaken for amusement, and not for information, it may be doubted whether the alleged forgetfulness be an evil at all. If the romance is a good one, the benefit it can afford will consist, not in impressing on the memory of the reader the useless imaginary facts of a fictitious narrative, but in infusing, almost imperceptibly, such general impressions as will conduce to the confirmation of his principles and the refinement of his taste. We wish there was the slightest ground for fearing that the minds of young Englishmen are in danger of being overwhelmed with excess of general information. Few, at the time they go to the university, are, in this respect, on an equality with their sisters; and this land has not yet begun to groan under the infliction of over-educated females.

Count Pecchio's mind seems much alive to inquiry into the sources of the wealth and civilization of England. Among the elements which conduce to these results, he has not omitted to notice the excellence of our means of internal communication. At the same time, he explains, very sensibly, an apparent anomaly which has struck some foolish travellers with wonder, namely, that while so solicitous to expedite communication as much as possible, we should have roads much less straight than many that are to be found on the continent. He says,

"Straight roads, and symmetrical cities, suppose the existence of a despotic power, little regardful of the rights of property. The straight line is like the sword of Alexander, which cut the gordian knot instead of untying it. The two most symmetrical cities in Europe, Turin and Berlin, sprung up under two military monarchies. Who does not see in the interminable straight roads of France and Poland a despotic hand that has traced them so? On the contrary, in England, that ancient land of liberty, the roads are winding, with frequent turns, and many of its cities are clusters of habitations, the chance result of caprice or need, instead of being composed of rows of houses, drawn up in rank like so many battalions of soldiers. Nevertheless, the English love order, expedition, and economy of every thing: true; but more than all, they appear to have esteemed the rights of property.

"The footpaths, which line every street in their towns, and frequently even the roads through the country, show that the people are and can make themselves respected. The traders have their canals, travellers in carriages have the middle of the street, the foot passengers have the side path. The footpath is the triumph of democracy. The common people are not, as elsewhere, entirely set aside. They have their rights, humble in truth, but inviolable. On the continent, on the other hand, the roads seem made only for the wealthy and for horses."

He then enters sensibly into the question (on which opposite

opinions are maintained by Verri and Adam Smith,) whether the money requisite for the support of roads should be levied by tolls or a general impost, and supports, for the most part, the opinion of the great Scotch political economist against that of his own countryman.

The following remarks on our practice of recruiting are graphic and pointed, and as such we quote them, though we cannot entirely concur with the sentiments of the author.

"It is known that the English army is in a great measure raised by recruiting. There is not yet any conscription in England. The conscription, it is true, is a tax of blood; the more grievous when it is paid to a tyrannical government, or to a foreign government, which oppresses the conquered by means of the conquered themselves. But under every circumstance I prefer the conscription to recruiting. Even under a spurious government it is less shameful to serve by compulsion than by choice. Besides, recruiting is a contract between a knave and a fool. About three in the afternoon, just when the fair is most crowded, one hears the sound of four or five drums and a few fifes; one sees a party of soldiers, with ornaments dangling to their watches, ribbons in their helmets, and faces sleek and chubby, (as if war was *le pays de cocagne*,) better in dress and appearance than other soldiers, in order that they may more easily seduce and deceive; one sees, I say, this recruiting party leading into the midst of the fair, and showing in triumph to the crowd, two or three youths, who for three or four guineas have sold their lives, and know not whether to their country, their king, or their love of idleness. They have their hats ornamented with silk ribbons, just as in ancient times they decked with garlands the horns of the rams that were destined to be sacrificed. This simulated pomp, this false gaiety, seem to me similar to that festival which used to accompany the vow of chastity and perpetual seclusion which girls pronounced when they took the veil. The English speak with horror of the slave trade. Where is the difference between an African, who sells himself, as frequently happens, deceived by a slave merchant, and a man who, heated with wine and delusive promises, sells himself for a few guineas to a lying corporal?"

If Count Pecchio had often indulged in such flights of futile exaggeration, we should not have thought his work worth notice, The information he gives respecting the mild methods of bribery and persuasion so often employed by the African slave merchants, is new to us. Relying too confidently on all other authorities, we had feared the case was different. "The English," he says, "speak with horror of the slave trade." True; but they speak with no horror of the practice of recruiting, and yet they are as jealous of their own liberty as of the liberty of other people. Is it then possible that there can be so strong an analogy between recruiting and the slave trade? If he had asked himself this question, he would probably not have framed the absurdity we have quoted. It is not clear upon what plea he prefers the conscription to

recruiting. The latter has plainly the advantage of being voluntary, while the former is a system of compulsion. But deceit, according to our author, is as bad as compulsion: and "recruiting is a contract between a knave and a fool." This is too sweeping an assertion. The contract *may* be such as he describes, and so may any contract between the employer and the employed; but it is not necessarily such. The military ardour of inexperienced youth, though it may lead to a measure at which prudent friends will shake their heads, does not deserve to be so severely stigmatized; and any one who will compare the condition of the soldier with that of the distressed mechanic or the ill paid day-labourer of the south of England, will come to the conclusion, that enlistment may often be adopted, not by a fool at the suggestion of a knave, but by a well-judging poor man upon a calm and prudential view of comparative advantages; and such we know is frequently the case.

The little tract entitled "Un' Elezione di Membri del Parlamento in Inghilterra," is pleasingly and judiciously written, and without having much pretensions to profundity of thought, or extensiveness of research, is well calculated to give the author's countrymen a tolerably accurate notion of the mode in which elections used to be conducted in this country. Count Pecchio is one of that commendable class of travellers, who, without abstaining from a due admixture of inferences and speculations, do not exhibit them to the exclusion of facts, but give us pictures as well as essays. Instead, therefore, of quoting Blackstone and Delolme, he has given, as specimens of the workings of our system, a vivid description of what he witnessed in two English elections in 1826; one for the county of Nottingham, the other, a severe contest of ten days' duration for the county town.

"In describing to my countrymen the forms and incidents of an election such as I myself witnessed, I have not pretended to present to them a perfect model. Whoever studies the art of government, knows that numerous defects are contained both in the national representation of England, and in the conduct of its elections."

We are glad to think that since the appearance of this little work so many of those defects have been removed; and that those portions of his description which are least flattering to our country are but the history of a system which no longer exists. Whatever doubts may exist with respect to the working of the Reform Bill (and doubts must exist with respect to every untried measure) we think it cannot be otherwise than cause for congratulation among well meaning men of every party, that we shall be no longer liable to a whole fortnight's continuance of such disgraceful incidents as the following.

" The evening presented a scene worthy of the pen of Tassoni. The streets were strewed, not with the dead, but with the dead-drunk. Both the successful and the beaten party passed the night in uproar, amidst clouds of tobacco smoke, foaming tankards of ale, and spirits. It was a complete bacchanal."

Here, too, are tactics on the part of candidates and electors, which we trust can never be repeated.

" It is important to have a number of electors ready in order to gain a superiority in the first few days. Success in the outset frequently decides the victory. But it is nevertheless necessary to distribute the number so as to keep the poll open, and also to bring forward first the doubtful votes, and to keep the sure ones in reserve.

" When there is a contested election, the voters during the contest come, sometimes, a distance of three or four hundred miles. Virtue is ever mingled with vice. Many electors boast that they are invincible by threats, incorruptible by money. Some prefer to lose their employment, to be displaced by the government, turned off by their employer, abandoned by their client, or their patron, rather than vote against their conscience. It is certainly true that, for the most part, when any elector is the victim of his integrity, the party for whom he has voted comes to his assistance, repairs the loss he has suffered, and secures him from injury; but a great number yield to seduction, or to threats, and prefer to rectitude an attention to the interests of the moment. A less numerous, but more crafty and corrupt class, feign indecision at first, that they may gain time and sell their votes dearer at the last moment. When an election is obstinately contested, the victory is frequently decided by a few votes out of several thousands; the last are, consequently, bought at a very high price. In the last election for the county of York, two voters who were in Wales, were paid two hundred guineas, besides their expenses. In this election at Nottingham, two electors asked thirty guineas each for their vote, but while they were bargaining the poll was closed, and they remained without their money."

This calculating spirit of corruption, this base practice of weighing the exigencies of a candidate, and making the price of a voter's conscience depend, like the rise and fall of stocks, upon the result of each day's poll, is, we trust, effectually counteracted by the present limitation of elections to two days. There is much good sense in the following comparison of the systems of direct and indirect election.

" Political writers have already inquired which is to be preferred, direct or indirect election. If I were to judge by what I have seen in Spain and in England, I should adopt the opinion of those who think that direct election includes, on the whole, more advantages. The Spanish constitution prescribed three grades of election, the first parochial, the second of districts, the third, the actual election of the deputies. In 1821 I saw one of these elections at Madrid. I remember that it was cold and insipid. There was no concourse, no contention, no enthusiasm;

nor could the names of Riego, Arguelles, Galiano, and many other illustrious patriots, warm the people. These were not elected directly by the people, but by electors chosen by the people. The people cannot feel a lively interest in parochial elections, in which is nominated a number of electors, who are to choose a still smaller number of other electors, who are, finally, to elect the deputy. Under such a system the people do not know the candidates; their election is to the people a chance or lottery. The candidates distant from the people, separated from them by two ranks of electors, make no profession of principles contract no obligation, are not indebted to the people for their election, and, consequently, do not take so much pains either to cultivate or to assist them. These elections by progressive steps, it is true, avoid the conflict of passions, and certain tumults and disorders, perhaps also are less subject to corruption, perhaps also are more especially expedient among people of a warm and excitable character. But they are, on the other hand, devoid of that emulation, that fire, that interest which are the life of free existence. Hardly any one in Spain knew that an election was going on, while in England it is a general convulsion, it is a species of patriotic phrenzy which invades every class, every city, every village. In direct elections the people re-assumes the sovereignty in all its power, is the judge of individuals, the awarder of prizes, and the arbiter of fame. The English system of election moreover, thanks to the custom that the candidates should be proposed by some of the most respectable of the electors, has also this advantage over election by progressive steps, that it tends to direct and enlighten the people in the choice of their representatives."

In conclusion, we willingly express the satisfaction with which (with some slight exceptions) we have read these pleasing and unpretending works. We should be glad to see more from the same pen, and on the same great subject, England. There is a very wide field on which Count Pecchio has not yet entered, many interesting features to which he has not yet adverted; and if his means of observation have been sufficient, we should gladly see him offer to his countrymen, and the world at large, other sketches drawn in the same spirit of charitable candour which characterizes those before us.

ART. VIII.—1. *Paris, ou le Livre des Cent et Un.* Tomes IV. V. VI. VII. VIII. Paris, 1832. 8vo.

2. *Oeuvres de* Charles Nodier. Paris, 1832. 5 Tomes. 8vo.

In noticing the first three volumes of this Parisian Album on a great scale, we had occasion to make some observations on the prevailing tone of the literature of France at the present day; to indicate slightly some of those perilous and mistaken directions to which it appeared to be tending;—the exaggeration of painting,

the moral cynicism, the revolting nature of its subjects, the utter absence of sound feeling and pervading morality which characterized most of those works which in the course of the last two or three years had attained popularity; and without entering minutely into the causes of this aspect of Literature, to express our conviction that the general instability of opinion and removal of the accustomed land marks in morals and legislation, in the science of government, and in the candour of criticism, were exercising, in the first instance at least, a degrading and unfavourable influence on Literature in general. The perusal of the volumes prefixed to this article has tended to confirm these views, both by the direct corroborative testimony which some of their ablest and most impartial contributors bear to the truth of the opinions we then ventured to express, and by the indirect but not less convincing evidence which others of them afford of the very errors against which our observations were directed.

No elevated or profound Literature in truth can ever be expected, when it is regarded, not as an end, but as a means; considered in this light, its practice is no higher than that of any other trade or profession. When it is regarded as a step to employment, as the necessary tenure of office, or a useful engine for obtaining that notoriety or influence which, in the present omnipotence of the press in France, is the passport to wealth or power, it naturally stoops its flight to the level of its aim, and accommodates its inspiration and its morality to the scenes and the principles with which it is conversant. The only fervent and unsullied worship which is paid to Literature, is the devotion of the wilderness, the closet, and the cell; half of those who surround its public altars at the present day are false priests, who seek to live only by the things of the altar, or to make their profession of faith a stepping-stone to their worldly advancement. When we laugh at the labours of the schoolman, the midnight oil of the anchorite, the researches of the metaphysician;—their time spent, their toil wasted, apparently without return,—would it not be well to recollect that all the "fancies chaste and noble" which have vivified or elevated humanity have owed their existence to this very principle of self sacrifice? Doubtless it is no light effort which enables the poet or the philosopher to contemplate with calmness the necessity of overlooking the present, of passing over the only beings with whom he is ever likely to mingle on earth, in order to shake his distant posterity by the hand: to live only in the memory of those who are yet unborn, to cast what might have been his bread upon the waters, in the hope that he should see it again after many days! Yet such, we think, must be the case if ever Literature is to assert its old supremacy:—if ever

we are again to see a Galileo delineating in spite of inquisitors the motions of our planet on the walls of his dungeon, a Cervantes old and miserably poor, yet bating no jot of heart or hope, and brightening the gloom of poverty and imprisonment with the steady ray of hope and genial humour; a Tasso, a Camoens, labouring for immortality: while the one is praying his cat to lend him her lustrous eyes, perhaps to pen those immortal stanzas which describe the flight of Ermina, or the death of Clorinda, and the other, wounded and neglected, subsisting on the alms which his faithful negro could gather; a noble Milton, whose mental eye as well as that of the body, is shut upon the scene around him, but open to higher prospects, and more distant views; if ever, we say, Literature is likely in France to reascend "self-raised and repossess its native seat," it must be pursued in a very different spirit, and with very different aims, from those in which it is at present prosecuted.

The absence of any exalted or wide reaching views in Literature soon manifests itself, not only in the slavish submission to the opinions or vices of the time, but in the minuter details of composition, and the general canons of criticism and taste. Wherever Literature follows, instead of leading; imitates, instead of creating; flatters, instead of opposing or reproving; wherever nature is treated like the magazine of a magic lanthorn, in which beings the most beautiful or grotesque, angels or demons, fairy forms, or hideous contorsions, are all equally admissible, provided they make the spectator stare, and awaken the curiosity of that grown child the public; wherever, we say, such is the state of things, a coarse, sketchy, and affected vivacity, without true depth or real feeling, a cynical hardihood both in the materials of Literature and in their application, are generally the result. But the influence of these principles on modern French Literature is stated with more force and knowledge of the subject than we can pretend to, by one who justly describes himself as an "old friend of Letters and Liberty;" but to whom the only consoling view in regard to the present situation seems to be that it has reached that point, in which any possible change must be for the better. In an able and eloquent paper entitled "*Les Gens de lettres d'aujourdhui*," M. Keratry observes:—

"How strange is the contradiction which exists in our manners? How just is the cause of apprehension it affords? Cynicism has been banished from the domestic roof, from the most familiar intercourse, but only to take refuge in our writings, in our books, in our journals, in our pleadings, in our theatres! It is expelled from private life, it reigns supreme in public. The men of letters have contributed to this irregularity; they have hastened it; they have with their own hands broke

down the barriers which the good sense of the public has erected against license in every nation which boasts a constituted society. They seem to have received from the Genius of Evil the sad mission of granting a bill of indemnity to all that is perverse and ungovernable in our nature. One would almost be tempted to believe that after transporting them to the pinnacle of the temple, and showing them all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them, the Spirit of Evil had said to them—'all these will I give to you if ye will fall down and worship me!' . . . .

"Our writers have in fact created a new morality, adapted to the use of the present generation. It is they who, disenchanting the scenes about us, will no longer permit our tears to flow for innocence in danger, or misfortune contending with an unmerited destiny; it is they who seek in public to associate us with emotions which we should be ashamed to confess in the bosom of our families, or to interest us in the triumph of what, in a well regulated community, would justly come under the lash of the law. Let us confess the truth. Is it not the same principle in literature which at this moment invests the doctrines of an anti-social sect* with a majesty borrowed from the Sacred Writings, and after giving a religious varnish to irreligion, an appearance of morality to immorality the most profound, labours at last to give the charm of decent voluptuousness to promiscuous intercourse?

"We are not ignorant that the general feeling revolts against these profanations; but is it not to be dreaded that what is openly avowed must at last come to have a practical influence on our morals? A degeneracy of taste in literature has consequences more serious than are suspected: it will soon re-act with evil influence upon our domestic habits and civil relations. Thought cannot be sullied, nor the course of human sentiment perverted, with impunity. Immoral writers, like blind guides, must lead society astray. Beware, then, legislators! All the world reads the morning papers, the romances of the day; all the world goes to the theatre; and the taint, descending to the lower classes, becomes incurable, when for the love of labour and the sentiments of religion we have substituted the longing after happiness which it is not in their power to attain.

"Neither let us suppose authors themselves are above those violent and irregular passions of which they render themselves the organs. The rich will abuse their fortune; the poor will be jealous of that of others. Glory must be ready to wait on their call with all its laurels, with all its rewards, and without any of its reverses. If it deceives their expectation, the remedy is in their own hand. High priests of that nothingness which they have so often invoked, after having conducted too credulous worshippers to its altars, they owe it one last victim; nor have they far to search for him! They touch the cup of life with their lips, and feeling it bitter, they dash down its liquor. We have seen and shuddered at such scenes but lately, when two presumptuous young men, thinking to obtain in a moment the result of long years and persevering labour, and disappointed in that hope, would not wait the slow arrival of that

* The St. Simonians.

fame which results from talent ripened by experience, and which flatterers had promised to their earliest essays; and to conceal themselves from an obscurity which was their torment, shutting their eyes to the sun, and plunging into a night more profound than that from which they were struggling to emancipate themselves!*

"And how should it be otherwise? *Literature is now cultivated without faith and without a creed.* Look at our historians; they admit a political fatalism. Why should we any longer weave garlands for virtue, or erect (at least in thought) scaffolds for crime? If Maximilian Robespierre and Lamoignon de Malesherbes, though contemporaries, each appeared in their proper time: if the triumph of the one, insulting heaven with his homage, was written by the same hand which traced the condemnation of the other, without appeal from either sentence, what should men struggle for on this accursed earth, placed as they are under the stroke of an inflexible destiny? But no! Such is not the destiny of man. Actors in the great drama which evolves itself before our eyes, co-operating towards its conclusion, each of us is yet called on to modify its incidents. It is from individual efforts that general movements result, and though events enter beforehand into the views of a higher intelligence, it remains for each successive generation to prepare them in the plenitude of its free will! . . .

"Since the talent of writing has become a necessary qualification for almost every employment, and, perhaps to too great an extent, an integral part of education, we may conclude that till our fabric of social order has settled on its base, we shall no longer see Letters a separate profession. We are under the influence of an agitation which impoverishes the field of literature, while it increases the number of the labourers in the vineyard.

"The Bar and the Theatre perhaps it might be thought would be on the advance: not so; we have rather to regret their visible decline.

"The license of the French stage has become its ruin; morality is as little respected as authority. One arrogates to himself the title of a man of letters, because, without regard to history, he has rendered into dialogue some historical fact, where the characters are false, where government is systematically degraded, where an established religion is exposed to ridicule; where names, dear to families, are dragged through the dirt; and in which, with a scandalous cynicism, the veil which protects domestic life and the nuptial bed, sanctuaries formerly impenetrable to a licentious curiosity, is drawn aside. Their pretended dramatic works have, by their very facility, fallen into the rank of common-place; and it is not at the theatre we should go to seek for the true man of letters. A mother can no longer carry her daughter there—at least we should not be the person to advise it. They would be far safer at the opera—the only one of our spectacles which has preserved some remains of decency. Could this have been foretold to our ancestors, it would have been heard with a smile of pity, or the paleness of terror.

---

* The writer alludes to the recent death of Escousse and Le Bras, two young men of some literary talent, who, from a feeling of impatience at the supposed neglect of the public, committed suicide together by appointment.

"Our Bar, in the course of the last eighteen months, has been almost entirely changed. Names hitherto unknown are now aspiring to fame, and anticipating the success of their predecessors. Men seem to have forgotten that that success was preceded by long labours; no matter, they must force their way and shine at all hazards, and storm the bar in order to gain the seat within, and lay the foundation of new revolutions, that the next step may advance them to the bench. With this noble design, the execution of which admits of no adjournment, they give themselves no trouble about matters of ordinary pecuniary interest —that would be too great a diversion from their end; besides, who would confide his interest in a patrimonial case to these beardless orators.

"No—Political causes are *their* field, with the certainty of having the Journals, now the fourth power in the State, and perhaps the most influential of all, upon their side. How have the debates of the bar changed their nature! The advocate, the defender of the accused *à l'ontrance*, sometimes by the misfortune of the time their accomplice, espouses their quarrel, imbues himself with their passions, conspires with them against that tutelary authority, beneath the shadow of which he himself enjoys the advantages of social order; in his ingratitude he is not even content with assailing those severe but protecting forms, which, while they permitted every thing to be said, imposed upon his predecessors the task of surveying their thoughts and the expressions in which they were to be conveyed. Audacity is his talent, insolence his reply; courage has gone to seek its place elsewhere; *it* has taken its seat upon the bench of the magistracy, among juries unjustly assailed with menace and reproach. No, it is not at the bar that the man of letters will now be found; till another order of things arise, it is not there we need go in search of him!

"There was a time, we admit, when a literary man might have paved the way to fame by his co-operation in the daily press. The Lemonteys, Hoffmanns, Dussaults and Malte-Bruns among the dead, the Jouys, the Etiennes, the Feletzes, the Jays, among the living, spread a charm of instruction over those fleeting pages: for them the task was one not without glory. Then, in fact, the object was to establish some *principle* of morality or literature, to throw light upon some point of history, to give stability to some character formerly equivocal, or seen in a false light, and to give point to sound criticism by the aid of a lively but always delicate pleasantry. These things are no longer the order of the day; they have been richly replaced by the contempt of all superiority, the forgetfulness of wakeful nights consecrated to the public good, by insults to old age, by violent declamations almost always based upon doubtful facts. . . . . In vain would this crowd of youths, who guide the pen of journalism, seek to invest themselves with the dignity of men of letters. The title belongs not to them, they have done nothing to earn it; we could not accord it to them without profanation.

"We grieve to say it; with a few exceptions, the persons who are employed in the public papers have poisoned the most grievous wounds of the social body; their permanent tribunal has perverted that of the Elec-

tive Chamber. The latter has descended to contend with them in violence; in order not to appear pale beside them, the picture has been overloaded with colour; for a second time, in the course of the last forty years, has the accusation of moderation been an object of terror!

"It is by facts that the impartial observer must judge of the epochs of history, and above all, of those which are contemporary. When examined as to his profession, a person accused lately answered, that he was a *revolt-maker*, (*emeutier*). The word requires no commentary; it speaks as intelligibly as a newspaper; it indicates, it denounces the origin of ill. Not till this delirious fever shall cease, will the true men of letters re-appear and re-assume their honours. To make the legislative tribune what it should be, it must not be sought in the streets. Above all, those who hope to make a lodgment beneath its roof, must not be the first to set the walls on fire! May our Opposition, within and without, literary and political, profit by the advice given to it by an old friend both of literature and liberty!"

We will not deny that there are some of the views stated in this long extract (which we could not have abridged without injustice to the eloquent author) which may probably be overcharged. The "laudator temporis acti"—the man who, accustomed to certain habitudes and established rules, both in literature and government, feels galled by the strange changes and new men whom a new state of things has called into existence—perhaps appears too prominently in the passages above quoted. Yet the views, we are satisfied, are in the main correct; the picture, though a little highly coloured, is in its leading outlines true; the existing evils of French literature and some of their main causes, are correctly indicated. It embodies, in fact, though with more force and brilliancy of illustration, the very same views which the perusal of the three former volumes of this collection had impressed upon our minds. The inspiration of French literature at present is, in short, a low, a temporary, and interested inspiration—with some brilliant exceptions, doubtless—but exceptions which only illustrate, by the force and distinctness of their peculiarities, the truth of the general proposition. If a Chateaubriand soars into a loftier field of thought and speculation, and brightens his views with a more cheering philosophy; if a La Martine imbues his pathetic verses with a pervading spirit of religion, with images and thoughts re-ascending to that heaven from which they had their birth; if these men are beyond all question at the head of the respective empires of prose and poetry in France; they are so, only because they have steadily resisted the influence of those vulgar aims, and mercenary motives, and passing prejudices, which the mass of their brethren have bowed down to worship; that in the midst of so much political vacillation, and party intrigues and struggles, "their souls have been as stars, and dwelt apart;" that

the one, almost banished from court during the days of the Restoration, because his liberality of views stood in the way of the men of the Restoration, stood forward its ablest and most eloquent advocate, when the sudden convulsion of July 1831, shook its representative from the throne: and that the other, self-concentered, intrepid, and calm, beneath the dynasty of both branches of the Bourbons, as under the iron grasp of Napoleon, has continued to pour forth his touching and majestic strains, as careless of the petty interests that fluttered near, as Spenser's shepherd, when he tuned his pipe, at even-tide, amidst the hum of the gnats and grasshoppers that rustled around him.

Of Chateaubriand we have spoken at length in our last Number; of La Martine it is now too late in the day to say much. Of all those who at present lay claim to the title of poet in France, La Martine is, by the consent of all parties, admitted to have the most indisputable pretensions to the name. Amidst the utter want of principle and deadness of feeling which characterize so much of the poetry of the day, it is he who keeps awake the moral sense, and like some vestal of Rome, preserves in his imperishable lines the sacred fire which elsewhere seems extinct. The altars on which it once blazed are thrown down; the domestic hearths which it cheered and illumined are forsaken; the sentiments of respect for religion, of reverence for established institutions, of devoted and disinterested attachment, which served as its fuel, are almost extinct; but, in the noble verses of La Martine, there lives a spark of that older and purer flame, which may yet communicate to other hearts, and brighten the prospects of feeling and poetry with a more genial and lambent glow. Instead of tempestuous flashes of passion, succeeded by the deeper darkness of impiety or immorality, we may yet hope, from strains like those of La Martine in Poetry, and of Chateaubriand in Prose, which is truly poetry, the advent of a calmer and better day for the literature of France. Till the days of La Martine, the French could scarcely say they knew what lyric poetry was, with the exception of a few of the chorusses in the *Athalie;* the solemnity, the religious fervour, the vagueness, the intensity of the ode, they knew for the first time in the *Meditations* and *Harmonies* of La Martine.

Let us rather endeavour, therefore, to afford our readers some portion of that gratification which we have ourselves enjoyed in the perusal of the last poem which he wrote in Europe, and which forms the gem of the volumes at the head of our article;—his parting address to the Academy of Marseilles, before sailing with his wife and child to the Holy Land; to which, attracted on the one hand by religious and poetical associations, and sick on the other of the anarchy which reigned at home, he has for the present

directed his steps. Of all his late writings, this appears to us the most touching and impressive. It has his early elevation and intensity, with less of his vagueness; the majestic movement of Rousseau's Odes, with a more vivid infusion of personal feeling.

To the Academy of Marseilles.

If to the fluttering folds of the quick sail
My all of peace and comfort I impart,
If to the treacherous tide and wav'ring gale
My wife and child I lend, my soul's best part;
If on the seas, the sands, the clouds, I cast
Fond hopes, and beating hearts I leave behind,
With no returning pledge beyond a mast,
That bends with every blast of wind;

'Tis not the paltry thirst of gold could fire
A heart that ever glow'd with holier flame,
Nor glory tempt me with the vain desire
To gild my memory with a fleeting fame.
I go not like the Florentine of old,
The bitter bread of banishment to eat;
No wave of faction in its wildest roar
Broke on my calm paternal seat.

Weeping I leave on yonder valley's side
Trees thick with shade, a home, a noiseless plain,
Peopled with warm regrets, and dim descried
Even here by wistful eyes across the main;
Deep in the leafy woods a lone abode,
Beyond the reach of faction's loud annoy,
Whose echoes, even while tempests groaned abroad,
Were sounds of blessing, songs of joy.

There sits a sire, who sees our imaged forms,
When through the battlements the breezes sweep,
And prays to Him who stirs or lays the storms
To make his winds glide gentler o'er the deep;
There friends and servants masterless are trying
To trace our latest footprints on the sward,
And my poor dog, beneath my window lying,
Howls when my well-known name is heard.

There sisters dwell, from the same bosom fed,
Boughs which the wind should rock on the same tree;
There friends, the soul's relations dwell, that read
My eye, and knew each thought that dawned in me;
And hearts unknown that list the muses call,
Mysterious friends that know me in my strain—
Like viewless echoes scattered over all
To render back its tones again.

But in the soul's unfathomable wells,
Unknown, inexplicable longings sleep;
Like that strange instinct which the bird impels
In search of other food athwart the deep.
What from those orient climes have they to gain?
Have they not nests as mossy in our eaves,
And for their callow progeny, the grain
Dropt from a thousand golden sheaves?

I too, like them, could find my portion here,
Enjoy the mountain slope, the river's foam;
My humble wishes seek no loftier sphere,
And yet like them I go—like them I come.
Dim longings draw me on and point my path
To Eastern sands, to Shem's deserted shore,
The cradle of the world, where God in wrath
Hardened the human heart of yore.

I have not yet felt on the sea of sand
The slumberous rocking of the desert bark,
Nor quenched my thirst at eve with quivering hand
By Hebron's well, beneath the palm-trees dark;
Nor in the pilgrim's tent my mantle spread,
Nor laid me in the dust where Job hath lain,
Nor, while the canvas murmured overhead,
Dreamt Jacob's mystic dreams again.

Of the world's pages one is yet unread:—
How the stars tremble in Chaldea's sky,
With what a sense of nothingness we tread,
How the heart beats when God appears so nigh;—
How on the soul, beside some column lone,
The shadows of old days descend and hover,—
How the grass speaks, the earth sends out its moan,
And the breeze wails that wanders over.

I have not heard in the tall cedar-top
The cries of nations echo to and fro;
Nor seen from Lebanon the eagles drop
On Tyre's deep-buried palaces below:
I have not laid my head upon the ground
Where Tadmor's temples in the dust decay,
Nor startled, with my footfall's dreary sound,
The waste where Memnon's empire lay.

I have not stretched where Jordan's current flows,
Heard how the loud-lamenting river weeps,
With moans and cries sublimer even than those
With which the mournful Prophet * stirred its deeps;

* Jeremiah.

Nor felt the transports which the soul inspire
In the deep grot, where he, the bard of kings,
Felt, at the dead of night, a hand of flame
Seize on his harp, and sweep the strings.

I have not wandered o'er the plain, whereon,
Beneath the olive tree, THE SAVIOUR wept;
Nor traced his tears the hallowed trees upon,
Which jealous angels have not all outswept;
Nor, in the garden, watched through nights sublime,
Where, while the bloody sweat was undergone,
The echo of his sorrows and our crime
Rung in one listening ear alone.

Nor have I bent my forehead on the spot
Where His ascending footstep pressed the clay,
Nor worn with lips devout the rock-hewn grot,
Where, in his mother's tears embalmed, he lay;
Nor smote my breast on that sad mountain head,
Where, even in death, conq'ring the powers of air,
His arms, as to embrace our earth, he spread,
And bowed his head, to bless it there.

For these I leave my home; for these I stake
My little span of useless years below;
What matters it, *where* winter-winds may shake
The trunk that yields nor fruit nor foliage now!
Fool! says the crowd.—Their's is the foolish part!
Not in one spot can the soul's food be found,—
No!—to the poet *thought* is *bread*—his heart
Lives on his Maker's works around.

Farewell, my sire, my sisters dear, again!
Farewell, my walnut shaded place of birth!
Farewell, my steed, now loitering o'er the plain!
Farewell, my dog, now lonely on the hearth!
Your image haunts me like the shade of bliss,
Your voices lure me with their fond recall;
Soon, may the hour arise, less dark than this,
The hour that reunites us all!

And thou, my country, tossed by winds and seas,
Like this frail bark on which my lot is cast,
Big with the world's yet unborn destinies,—
Adieu, thy shores glide from my vision past!
O! that some ray would pierce the cloud that broods
O'er throne and temple, liberty and thee,
And kindle brighter, o'er the restless floods,
Thy beacon-light of immortality!

And thou, Marseilles, at France's portals placed,
With thy white arms the coming guest to greet,
Whose haven, gleaming o'er the ocean's breast,
Spreads like a nest, each winged mast to meet;

Where many a hand, beloved, now presses mine,
Where my foot lingers still as loth to flee—
Thine be my last departing accents—thine
My first returning greeting be!"

Our next extract shall be short and in a gayer strain. It is from a paper entitled *Un Café de Vaudevillistes en* 1831, by Felix Pyat, a name with which we were hitherto unacquainted. It paints, though with that tinge of exaggeration which, as M. Keratry remarks, pervades even the papers in this collection, the manners of that peculiar people who cater for the public amusement; who, living by jokes and puns, are always on the watch to turn a stanza, or catch an absurdity which may be woven into their next vaudeville:—grave, earnest as death in the midst of their comic employment, thinking every laugh wasted, every good thing thrown away, that is not turned into *argent comptant* on the stage.

"Siberia, or a Painting Academy, are not more inhospitable than a Coffee Room of Vaudevillists.

"If you have neither been guilty of romance, memoir, or couplet, in the course of your life;—if your letters, at least, are not addressed 'Homme de lettres,' I advise you not to enter a spot where every one knows every one, as at a village ale-house. You will be observed, annoyed, by the glances of all, awkward as a little girl the first day of her new stays.

"The waiter who wears mustachios and reads his favourite journal, will be in no hurry to hand you your *eau sucré*;—you must pay down, you who are neither author nor journalist, nor any name whatever, three times you must call out, before the lady at the table will tingle her bell: all are listening to the author who speaks and gesticulates, and yet does not utter a word of politics. There will you see neither Warsaw, nor Lyons, the ministry, nor the cholera morbus, but only the forthcoming vaudeville of the evening.

Some of the established inmates of the place, who have observed your entry, will approach your table, and surround you with all the inveterate espionage and vigilance of a robber or a police officer. Happy will it be for you if you do not happen to possess a comical figure, or a whimsical name;—or if you do, if you should have the misfortune to subscribe yourself Bonnichon, or Rejolard, take care, I advise you, that no friend, with a loud voice, give utterance to the mirth making sound! They will rob you of your very name! They will draw closer round you like a swell mob. Imprudent wretch, be silent! Button up your mind to the chin, clap a stopper on your mouth, tighten the cord of your tongue; don't let an expression be drawn out of you; pocket your words, pocket yourself, if possible; for here you are in danger; they will make quick conveyance here with your conversation, steal your talk, your dress, your figure, lay hold of you alive and bodily, from head to foot. You know not the artifices of these villains. They will flatter you, they will set you a talking, they will ask you what

o'clock it is, they will put you through your paces, they will ask you to repeat your last joke, while they call to the waiter—waiter, a glass of rum, and—harkye—bring a pencil. There you are, stowed away in the literary larder, amidst sketches, fag ends of couplets and bon-mots, purchased, picked up, or stolen during the day, all ticketed, numbered, each in its own drawer and division; so that if a bon-mot on the subject of love, or a couplet on glory, is wanted, the vaudevillist has but to turn up the proper paper, and there he finds it cut and dry to his hand.

"Though smoking is not allowed, the air is heavy and difficult to breathe, charged, as it is, with the nauseous odour of the theatre: the mistress of the Café is invariably ugly, a dealer in tickets for the theatre at half price; the son cracks jokes, and the husband runs into debt. In this gloomy abode all the inhabitants are dingy and dirty. You have, perhaps, figured to yourself Momus, with a broad grin on his mouth, his teeth white, his cheeks plump and ruddy, his temper gay, frank, lively,—the Momus, in short, that figures in the scenes of the theatre. Not so here. In the midst of that dark group who are playing there at dominos, observe that old and sallow forehead wrinkled up like a bank note; that half bald head, supported by a body somewhat resembling in shape a triumphal arch; well, that being is the most influential of the votaries of Momus; that silent ugly old fellow, exuding, as it were, disgust and ennui at every pore of his skin, is the representative of French gaiety, the first buffoon of his day; a man who has kept men laughing for the last century, who has survived the Reign of Terror, and laughed the Restoration out of countenance; who has made as much money by the Hundred Days as an army commissary, and, in short, turned all our glories and all our miseries to a theatrical and pecuniary account.

"Round him are gathered the apprentices, the novices, the collaborateurs, who are paid, and the collaborateurs who pay. The rich, for instance, who are determined, at any price, to be men of letters, and who purchase the honour of affixing their names to the production of some well known stager. The ordinary conversation on the subject of the new piece or the new actress is interrupted by the usual quarrel of two intimate friends, disputing their claims to a joke stolen by the one from the other, scolding like prostitutes, and bandying about abusive epithets from one to the other as if they were playing at rackets. Dull folks would cut one another's throats for one half of what these disputants bestow upon each other; but these practised performers play on their game of Billingsgate, with all the imperturbable coldness in the world; while the rest never trouble their heads about them.

"The Café is always full of strolling players; every literary bird of passage takes up his temporary residence round its marble table; they live in the Café; some opposite the bar, some near, the others by the windows; they give you their address there—unless you happen to be their bootmaker or their tailor; they eat, work, and sleep there—it is their domicile, their exchange, where the theatrical stock is disposed of; where the materials of a vaudeville are put up to sale, purchased, and

paid for; where a *plot* may be had for a *poulet truffé* or a glass of lemonade, according to the rise or fall of the dramatic funds.

"The more noisy inmates of the Café are the mere amateurs; the retailers of news; persons who know the stars of the place by name, and are hand in glove with the waiter; who think genius may be caught by contact with men of talent, and scarcely venture to wash their hands on the day when they have enjoyed the honour of shaking hands with them.

"The amateurs supply the fuel and do the honours of the fire-place; they scatter their ideas about for any one who chooses to pick them up; for the authors, on whom the task of providing for the gaiety of the public devolves, are silent and gloomy as Mohammedan priests. Their only reply is a laugh; if they must answer, they are brief and laconic as a bank note, or a regimental order. It is worth while to observe their mutual apprehensions; they never make each other laugh gratis, that would be mere labour lost; wit and gaiety constitute their stock in hand, and why should they be wasted? Accordingly, nothing can be more dull, more barren than their ordinary conversation or correspondence; with the exception of the clown of the theatre off the stage, there is not a more melancholy animal in existence than a vaudevillist."

Our readers will recollect the forcible paper of Leon Gozlan, entitled the Morgue; a striking illustration of that taste for physical horrors which, at present, characterizes the modern literature of France; which covers its delineations with hues of blood, spreads around us the loathsome atmosphere of the charnel-house, and the pest-house. In the maritime romances of Eugène Sue, each vessel represents a floating hell, where the decks are slippery with blood, and the cabins ring with the groans of murderous conflict, or the roar of a hideous bacchanalian orgy. In the last production of the Bibliophile Jacob, *La Danse Macabre*, the aid of pestilence, in all its hideous details, is called in, in conjunction with sorcery and murder, to produce an impression on the almost blunted nerves of the Parisian public. And the author introduces his work with the assurance, that the coincidence of its appearance with that of the cholera morbus was purely accidental. The secrets of the dissecting room and the hospital have taken the place of the exhibition of sentiment, or the analysis of character. In this state of the public sympathies, no wonder if the keeper of the Morgue, or the executioner of Paris, becomes an object of interest, a study for essay writers and romancers; nor need we be surprised if among the other notables of Paris, we find a paper by J. Rousseau, devoted to the latter ill-omened personage who, in common with the Archbishop, bears the odd title of Monsieur de Paris. The sketch however, though somewhat dressed up *en beau*, is interesting and well written, and we regret that we have not room for it.

It has often struck us as one of the profoundest mysteries of modern times, how any man can submit to be a member of parliament; how a person in the enjoyment of ease, opulence, leisure, amusement, surrounded with every thing at home which can render life agreeable, can exchange these for the thankless toils of St. Stephen's, the nights of debate, and days of committee work, which during the sittings of parliament, now everlasting as those of Theseus himself, his flesh must be heir to; —and that in many, nay in most cases, without even the stimulus of ambition, or the prospect of fame. By the few who take a lead in debate, and flatter themselves that they can command the applause of listening senates, this drudgery work may be submitted to; it is the price to be paid for the prize of popularity, or place; but there is really something quite touching in the disinterested toils of a member, working away night and day, amidst all the seductive attractions of London society, without the prospect of either the one or the other, and able whenever he pleases, to exchange the stir, and smoke, and fret of town for the "fresh woods and pastures new" of some ancestral domain, where in the simple and more agreeable character of a country gentleman he might combine utility with pleasure. We can hardly say they manage these things better in France. The life of a "deputy" seems to bear a very close resemblance to that of a "member of parliament," as the following extracts from a paper by M. Viennet will show.

"There is no day of rest for the deputy. The labourer, the merchant, the clerk, all have their Sunday. For the man of the people there is no Sunday; the recess of the chamber is only to him an additional misfortune. For six days in the week, his duties as a legislator save him from the worse inconvenience of having solicitations to make or to parry: but on Sunday he is left without defence; he is only allowed to breathe at dinner time, provided he dines in town, for otherwise his door is closed in vain. His dining room is near his antechamber, if he has one: he can overhear every word—the refusal of the servant, the complaints, the perseverance of the solicitor; with his napkin in his hand, his meat in his mouth, must he receive the petition, examine it, docket it, and then return to his cold dinner, and all to gratify the urgency and impatience of those who had dined comfortably a quarter of an hour before. The theatres, the promenade, are to him forbidden places. It is not to enjoy pleasures he was sent to Paris. Those pleasures, too, are not to be had for nothing; he can no more obtain credit at the theatre than at the post office: besides, his constituents would never forgive him an hour of relaxation.

"Annoyances of another kind await him on his arrival at the capital. The veterans of the chamber, the drill serjeants of the line, beset him, sound him, and watch him on all sides. A letter comes sealed with the ministerial seal: it is an invitation to dinner. Shall he go? Why not?

One may differ from a minister, yet eat his dinners. And after all, who pays for it? The public purse. His excellency did not receive his 100,000 francs for his private economy. He must *represent:* and in France to represent is to assemble at table some fifty guests, all equally tiresome and tired, each obliged to converse with the neighbour whom chance has given him, and who separate with delight as soon as they have swallowed their Amphitryon's coffee. A deputy is an indispensable personage in this singular *representation*. Besides, why should he affect a repugnance to authority? That would be a ridiculous affectation. He knows he will find many colleagues there to support him. The opposition itself does not disdain to take its seat at the table of the minister whom it attacks.

"The very day after the diligence has dropt in the *Cour des Messageries* the deputy of the province, from the moment his person and trunks are fairly housed, his clothes and portfolio properly arranged, he has to make the round of the offices of seven or eight ministers, where the numerous petitions with which he is loaded have to be deposited. His first reception by the porter, clerk, or officer, is grave, disdainful, sometimes repulsive. Every agent of government is apt to give himself airs, and the humblest not always the least. But he hastens to pronounce the cabalistic word—the title of deputy is launched against the cerberus of the office, and the scene shifts as by enchantment. The officer lays aside the folder he was turning in his hands; he rises with marked precipitation, stands in an attitude of respect, his arm directed towards the door opposite to that of the antechamber; his wrinkles unbend; his eyes beam with the anxiety to be useful. The key turns, the door is opened boldly. "Monsieur is a member of the Chamber," he exclaims, with the boldness of an inferior who does not fear the bad humour of a superior. At the word the great man lays down his pen, presents a chair, and smiles affectionately on the privileged solicitor of the district, who empties his pockets on the table. The petitions shall be examined with scrupulous care; the recommendations of the deputy shall be attended to; and he is politely reconducted to the door, which is not closed till the sound of the outer one has been heard.

"The same scene is renewed ten times a day. It recommences the next day—and the next—and as long as the session lasts, or the stay of the deputy in the capital, the fountain-head of grace and favour. At last the answer of the minister arrives—no places, but abundance of vague promises. These are transmitted to the constituency; and in exchange the deputy receives thanks, mingled with protestations and new supplications. He must see the ministers, urge them, give them no rest. Every applicant thinks his success certain the moment he learns that the deputy has spoken on his behalf to the minister or the king. Tell them that the post is, after all, a surer mode of conveyance;—that a petition delivered with one's own hand, and deposited in his excellency's pocket, runs a greater risk of being forgotten than if transmitted to the Secretary-General, whose duty it is to attend to it: add, that nothing is done without a preliminary report; that in this report the claims of twenty candidates perhaps have to be weighed, and each recommended by in-

fluence at least as powerful as that of a deputy—it is all in vain, the petitioners never can be made to understand this sort of arithmetic—his representation is at once set down as negligent; one who thinks of himself alone, and not of his fellow citizens. He has his personal protegés, his family leanings, his connexions of friendship. If a place be obtained, the unsuccessful candidates tear him in pieces. He has been unjust, partial;—he who has received it, forgets the service in the coursel of a month. A place so bestowed frequently only makes one ungrateful man, and twenty enemies.

"Another obligation on the deputy is that of answering the communications of all the world. The official solicitor of the district receives on an average fifty letters a day. Three hours are spent in reading them, three in receiving his clients and their friends, three more in making the rounds of the offices in 'rain, hail, or shine;' he rises before day-light, and sweats blood and water in labouring to satisfy them all. But all in vain; from head quarters he is assailed by petitions, complaints, reproaches; and while he is wasting time, health, and money in their service in the capital, his enemies are busily undermining him in his province. They are only waiting for the day of re-election to revenge themselves for what they call his want of faith.*

---

* As a contrast, or rather as a *pendant* to this graphic picture of the "Miseries of a Deputy" in France, we think our readers will be amused with a similar description of the "Miseries of an English M.P." for a popular constituency, and that member a minister, which has been given us in one of his late *Registers* by another newly elected M. P.,—we mean Mr. Cobbett. In point of facetiousness and racy humour, the English composition will not suffer by comparison with the French.

"The Lord have mercy upon poor Poulett Thomson! There will be Baxter boring him with his pompous inanity; there will be the Potters with their broad shoulders and broad simper, pestering him for measures to save the kingdom by enlarging the 'improved system of banking,' and 'cotton buying,' carried on at the 'three golden balls;' there will be that remorseless Yankee, Dyer, plaguing him to death with his carding-machines and his patents, and swearing, in the usual Connecticut twang, that to make the kingdom perfectly secure, there is nothing like giving him a share of the profits of the Bank of England; and there will be Shuttleworth, offed and scoffed and coughed out of Manchester, hurrying away to London, and rapping everlastingly at his door, calling upon him for the 'extension of trade,' and the limitation in the breeding on the part of the women. Poor Mr Thomson will have to muffle his knocker, and to lay straw in the street opposite his door. He will have to listen to all the eulogiums on their sons and relations; and to hear them pointed out as persons extremely capable, and also extremely desirous, to assist in saving the kingdom. His house will be besieged by them; the instructions which Pope gave to his porter, 'say I am *sick*, I am *dead*,' will not avail poor Thomson. Shuttleworth and Dyer will insist on *seeing the body*, which, they now, at this moment, look upon as their property, as much as the man in the fable looked upon his wooden god as his property. If I were Thomson, I would have these fellows painted—tell them that he had a desire to have their likenesses, on account of their grand achievement. Painter never performed an easier task; for a group to resemble them, human nature has not provided. Having their pictures, I would hang them up in my hall, and then take the porter, and say to him,—'There! you see those fine pictures, and if you let in over the sill of my door any one of the fellows whom those pictures resemble, not a whole bone shall be left in your skin in one hour after that.' They will try to catch him in the street; they will hunt him to his country seat, if he be not as wily as a hare is in taking her form. As to their *letters*, of which he will soon have half a dozen volumes,—as long as there is fire in the world, there is a remedy for them. Dyer said, in one of his published

"There are some who, in order to escape this reproach, devote a part of the sittings of the Chambers to the task of correpondence. The debates go on amidst a scratching accompaniment of pens, transmitting to the constituents at a distance the answers of ministers or official men. Scarcely twenty deputies rise when the voice of the president calls for their opinion. Important resolutions pass by a majority of twelve to eight. The affairs of state are left to go on as they best may; enough that the constituent receives his letter, and can boast of having got his answer. The deputy has not done the business of the state, but he has settled the affair of his constituents; he has acquired a reputation for being obliging and exact, which he preserves only until the bestowal of some post renews the clamours of every disappointed candidate.

"That public opinion which is frequently merely the opinion of the journalist,—that queen of the world which frequently has but the stones of the pavé for a throne, and an alehouse for a palace, rules tyrannically over the deputies and the people. The official controllers of the acts of ministry are themselves submitted to the daily despotism of the newspapers of the capital and the province. Within the Chamber itself, and fronting the president, is a seat filled by about twenty young *redacteurs*, whose employment it is to collect the words, the gestures, the interruptions of the deputies, to transmit to their subscribers the physiognomy of the legislative pandemonium; from that quarter are derived those parliamentary reputations, which every man fashions as he pleases according to the views of the paper of which he is the organ. Among these each party has its instruments, or its confidants; to them are transmitted the manuscripts of authors, whom heaven has not endowed with the power of extemporising, or to whom the struggles of the bar or the practice of the professor's chair have not yet taught the habit; or who do not take the trouble of getting their speeches by heart, in order to recite them from memory, and give them out as extempore; and as there are not in the chamber more than about one hundred and fifty advocates and ten professors, the consequence is, that there are about three hundred deputies, who are under the necessity of writing what they are to speak on the morrow. Their manuscripts pass from hand to hand. Each *redacteur* takes from them what he likes. He cuts them in pieces, distorts them, changes their very nature, and, as there are but few subscribers whose courage is equal to the perusal of the immense *Moniteur*, which is under the dreary obligation of admitting every thing, they judge the orator according to what he is made to say, not what he has said. Yet these interpreters are men who think they have a conscience; they will prove it to you sword in hand; only as the accounts of twenty journals are all contradictory, as it is physically impossible that a deputy could say black and white at the same

papers, that Manchester stood in need of a minister for one of its members, that well-informed persons in the town might be in constant communication with him! Dreadful intimation! However, forewarned, forearmed, I daresay that Thomson, who is not destitute of common sense, whatever whims he may have about emigration and surplus population, has already began to think of the means by which he shall protect himself against the impertinent babble, written, as well as verbal, of this group of vulgar and conceited men."

time, it is plain that some of those journals must have perverted the truth; and as there is no *juste milieu* between truth and falsehood, it is equally plain that some, at least, of the said journalists have no conscience.

"The deputies of the opposition have some advantages over their adversaries. The opposition is in fashion; it was always so in France, because there is in it more of wit than reason. Men the most pacific, the most devoted to power, have no objection to listen to the abuse of the great men of the earth. They do not deny to themselves the pleasure of laughing at an epigram, even while they pity its object. Parliamentary opposition is naturally bitter; it requires the use of every weapon in order to overturn those who are in possession of that authority which it aspires to; and its attacks are always more spirited than the replies of the defenders of established power, or of the ruling opinion. This it is that explains the number and the popularity of the opposition journals, and the great disadvantages of those deputies who do not belong to this party. The government journals deal but little in eulogy; not because they belong to the ministry, but because they are mere journalists. They never become extatic over the speech of a friend, or expire with admiration at the eloquence of an orator who lends them his support. But it is the interest of the opposition journals to be extatic. It is not enough for their purpose to declare that the ministers are incapable or unfaithful; they have to demonstrate to France the ability, the knowledge, the integrity of those who are anxious to replace them; and hyperboles and superlatives, both in praise and censure, are the necessary commodities in which they deal."

Many a legislator in our own country, who, as he takes up his *Times* or *Morning Post*, sees himself figuring as a Demosthenes, or denounced as a Cataline;—now quoted as a model of absolute wisdom, now written down an ass, for the self same measure or speech, will recognize the correctness of the above picture. We only wish that M. Viennet, who paints the miseries of a deputy so minutely, had suggested some means of mitigating them. If poor Mr. Martin had taken the House of Commons under the protection of the Cruelty to Animals Bill, he would probably have been more popular in St. Stephen's than ever he was in Smithfield.

We have but little to say in regard to the other work, the title of which we have prefixed to this article,—the collected edition, now first published, of the Novels, Tales, and Essays of Charles Nodier. Nodier is undoubtedly a man of warm and sensitive imagination, and master of a passionate and eloquent style, which gives a certain charm even to the merest trifle from his hand. But we cannot persuade ourselves that he is a man of that commanding talent which would justify the encomiums which have been lavished upon him by some friendly critics in France.

The truth is, that his mind, though plastic, and readily adapting itself to seize, re-embody or modify the ideas of others, has little of originality. Give him a hint, and he works it up with much taste and effect; but there is a want of solidity and self-reliance about all that he has written, which will prevent his name from ever being a favourite with the next generation.

This imitative turn pervades almost all his works of imagination. The Werther of Goethe strikes the first chord on his youthful fancy; and the passionate energy and wild complaints of the German are immediately reproduced in that which to us appears, after all, the most successful of his works. *Therese Aubert.* The dynasty of Goethe, now grown more tranquil and self-balanced, like a long established monarchy, is succeeded by the more stormy rule of Byron;—and the spirit of the Corsair and Lara passes by a new metempsychosis into the bandit *Jean Sbojar.* This romance, not without invention and force, would perhaps have appeared to more advantage, had not a long succession of such monsters, "with one virtue and a thousand crimes," made the public think with absolute loathing on them and their authors. From Byron he flies to Scott—but alas, his *Trilby, ou le Lutin d'Argail,* is a strange failure. Sir Walter's White Lady, with her material bodkin, was a whimsical conception, but Nodier's spirit Trilby is ten times worse. In his *Smarra,* a Thessalian story, in the manner of the sorceries and diableries of the Golden Ass of Apuleius, he is more at home; he certainly does contrive to produce an unpleasant night-mare effect, —a cloud of misty phantoms, and murky and loathsome forms, moving before us in a ghastly dance, which produces the effect of an indigestion or an uneasy dream. But in this walk he must hide his diminished head beside the modern masters of the terrible, Messrs. Balzac, Janin, and Sue, the chiefs of the epileptic and anatomical school.

We really are very much disposed therefore to agree with Nodier himself, that the public would not have been great sufferers, if his works had never reached a second edition. Some of them are powerfully, and others gracefully, written, and as an essayist he is frequently very successful, but we have looked through them in vain for an ably or consistently drawn character; or an ingenious novel of incident.

ART. IX.—1. *Le Duc de Reichstadt.* Par M. de Montbel, Ancien Ministre du Roi Charles X. Paris. 1832. 8vo.

2. *Lettre à M. * * *, sur le Duc de Reichstadt.* Par un de ses Amis. *Traduite de l'Allemand.* Par Gerson Hesse. Paris. 1832. 8vo.

BY a strange fatality, one of the ministers of the dethroned Charles X. was driven to Vienna for shelter, where he arrived in good time to gather up the remains of the *ancien* Roi de Rome: one of the last ministers of the banished restoration occupies his exile with the latest souvenirs of the abdicated Empire. But a Frenchman is always a Frenchman, and no matter to what party he belongs, or by what party he has suffered—in foreign countries, *la patrie*, and *la gloire*, invariably attaching to it, are always ideas which with him sanctify every thing connected with them. Who could have expected to find an ultra-royalist minister of the Restoration occupying his leisure—or rather his time, for it is all leisure with him—with the recollections of the last of the Imperial dynasty? and yet so it is, that with pious hands and reverent feelings, M. de Montbel has taken upon himself the task of recording, for the benefit of the historical world, all that he could discover of the life and character of the son of the most illegitimate of rulers. Let his politics or policy be what they may, we owe his piety grateful thanks for having undertaken the duty, and are happy to say, that the manner in which it is executed is highly creditable both to his feelings as a man, and his abilities as an author. It redounds to the praise of M. de Montbel, that he has been so well able to divest himself of the narrow prejudices of party, and at once, as regards the interesting subject of his biography, place himself in a position of perfect impartiality, and in a most favourable point of view, for recording all that must necessarily interest the world and posterity in the history of this extraordinary graft on the ancient stock of Austrian legitimacy.

The Life, as given by M. de Montbel from the best sources, and frequently in the very words of the only persons qualified to speak, will long be a favourite text both for moralists and politicians. The influence of hereditary disposition, the effect of education generally, and the peculiar character of this youth's education, are fruitful sources of reflection and instruction; while his anomalous position, the chances of his future life, and the probable effect it might have had on France and Europe at large, are not less likely to stimulate the disquisitive faculties of historical writers. M. de Montbel's book has also the recommendation of complete novelty. The life of the son of Napoleon, since he tell into Austrian hands when an infant, has been a perfect mys-

tery: the people were scarcely kept in more complete ignorance of the daily life of the man with the Iron Mask: his death was almost the first certain news of his continued existence. Now that there is no motive for farther concealment, we are let into all the details of his short career, down even to the most trivial actions of hourly existence; not without some reservation certainly, produced by a perpetual consciousness of the position of the writer—a dependant of the Court of Vienna—but still with a sufficient abundance of particulars, flowing from the mouths of his friends, tutors, and household, to satisfy us altogether as to the character and disposition of a remarkable and most interesting personage.

Many unworthy suspicions have been entertained of the Court of Austria respecting the treatment of this young man: these suspicions will at once vanish before the perusal of this book, while the truth of the intentions of the Emperor, or at least of his minister, will appear with tolerable plainness. It was resolved, first, that the young King of Rome should be made a German Prince;—next, that as every man who has passions and talents must have a pursuit, it was deemed safest, and perhaps most beneficial, that he should be indulged in his enthusiasm for the military profession. The example of Prince Eugene was set before him as the one they would most desire him to follow. Prince Eugene was neither imperial nor alien, and yet one of their most valuable Generals, and in no way a dangerous subject, while he gained glory enough to satisfy the most ambitious of men. These calculations would probably have answered, had not the natural been a more complex machine than the political, and as such even beyond the ingenious management of M. de Metternich. The youth was in a moral prison, and his soul pined. It was deemed necessary that he should be cut off from all communication with the agitators and adventurers of France. To effect this object, he was kept in utter solitude; surrounded certainly by attendants and instructors, but still, in a social sense, buried in utter solitude. His orders were obeyed, his every wish anticipated; he had his books, his horses, and his equipages for promenade or the chase; but for all that the soul or the heart holds dear, he was, with slight exceptions, a solitary prisoner. This might be practicable to some extent with an Austrian archduke; but with a child in whose veins the quick blood of the Corsican Conqueror flowed, it was a species of lingering moral torture. To outward appearance, he was like Rasselas in the Happy Valley; but, like him, he was wearying for all that was beyond the range of the mountains that separated him from his fellow-men: in the one case, these mountains were physical obstacles; in the other,

moral ones. The spirit chafed against the prison bars: the victim, bruised and care-worn, refused its food, lost its substance, grew emaciated, and died. The mind all the while was developed, and grew apace, while the body became debilitated, nay, aged: the truth being, that intellectual food may always be found in prison, but moral and social isolation prey upon the physical state; the creature grows up a sapless weed, with the suspicions and distrust of long experience, and the reflection and calm profundity of thought peculiar to unclouded age. After his death, young Napoleon presented in his body the same anomaly he had done in his lifetime: his frame had all the slenderness and fragility of infancy stretched into unnatural length, while his vital organs bore the schirrous and flaccid appearance of extreme old age: there was no part healthy or natural but the brain, which was wonderfully fine, with the exception, that it was more compact, and of firmer substance than is usually found. So it was in life. This boy had all the enthusiasm and passion of youth in extreme force, alternating with a distrust, a caution, and a rapidity in fathoming the character and appreciating the talents of the persons with whom he was necessarily brought into contact, which are the usual qualities of age. His intellect chiefly exhibited itself in mastering the history of his father in all its voluminousness, in the soundness and acuteness of his criticism on the several authors he had read, and in the facility with which he acquired the theory of war, and all the studies which conduce to it. He seems to have known almost by instinct, that it was only through war that he could ever rise to more than a mere eunuch of the palace, and from the earliest age he took the deepest interest in every thing that partook of military movement. It was not, however, thought safe to intrust him abroad till he was nearly grown up; he felt that his entrance into a regiment was his first step to emancipation, as he called it, and he devoted himself to the practical duties of a soldier and a chief officer with an ardour which quickly devoured the pigmy body that had been frittered away and shaken by the silent struggles of solitude. The word pigmy must, however, be taken in the sense of feeble: in its sense of diminutive, it is wholly inapplicable; for the young Napoleon, in that respect, taking rather after the Austrian than the Corsican race, had shot up in his sunless nursery to the height of the tallest man. No story was ever replete with more painful interest than the account of the obstinate struggle which this unhappy youth kept up against physical decay; he never complained, never even would admit that he was ill; finding his voice fail him in manœuvring his corps, he would, after the exertion of a review, go and hide his weakness, fainting and sinking upon some secret

sofa. He was terrified, poor fellow! lest he should be, on the very threshold of the world, driven back into his solitary splendour. At length, however, on the representation of a physician, whom he never would consult, he was sent to Schönbrunn, where he died. He had, however, nearly rallied, and if the disease had not advanced to the extent of producing severe organic change, would perhaps have recovered by a proposed tour to Naples, and other parts of Italy. The effect on the mind of the moral prisoner was electric, and to his dying hour, this journey was his chief hope and prospect in the world.

Before the little Napoleon came into Austrian hands, of course no regular attempt had been made to educate him; but it is not to be supposed that nearly five years of such a pregnant existence as his, were left without numerous and deep impressions. His was far from a communicative disposition, and consequently, he did not, like some children, talk himself out of his recollections. They sank in the mind of the forlorn boy, and if ever they were permitted to see the light, it was in some little moment of excitement. One day, when he was playing with the imperial family, one of the archdukes showed him a little medal of silver, of which numbers had been struck in honour of his birth, and were distributed to the people after the ceremony of his baptism: his bust was upon it. He was asked, do you know who this represents? "C'est moi," answered he, without hesitation, "quand j'étais Roi de Rome." Ideas of his own former consequence, and the greatness of his father, says his early tutor, M. Foresti, were constantly present to his mind. Other impressions were not less deep; he had a love of truth which made him utterly intolerant even of fable, and probably contributed to his subsequent distaste for poetry. The word *vrai* he used to pronounce, when a perfect child, with a solemnity and a movement of the hand, which showed that it had to him all the sacred character of an asseveration. And yet, child as he was, he had that force of character, or rather that sensitiveness mixed with vigour, that, on being ridiculed unintentionally for its use, he never again repeated the word. On occasion of his mother's birth-day, some of the little court, soon after the dethronement, made these verses, in order to be repeated to Maria-Louisa by her child:—

Autant que moi, pe sonne, ô ma chère Maman,
Ne doit tenir ce jour prospère;
Vrai, ne lui dois-je pas le bonheur si touchant,
Et si doux à mon cœur, de vous nommer ma mère?

He soon learned the stanza, and was afterwards told why the

word *vrai* was introduced; he said nothing: when admitted to his mother, he showed a great deal of affection and amiability, but never pronounced the quatrain, and never more used the word.

The first instruction attempted to be communicated to him was a knowledge of the German language. To this he opposed a most determined resistance: not one word of German would he pronounce, and even resisted the endeavours to teach him as an insult and an injury; for his age he kept up this resolution a long time; when it was conquered by the mildness and persuasion of his teachers, he learned the language with a prodigious facility, and soon spoke it in the imperial family like one of themselves. Not only the rapidity with which he acquired this difficult tongue, but even his mistakes and misconceptions indicated a superior logical faculty, for they were generally founded on fancied analogies, and little etymological observations. M. Foresti, whose duty it was to teach him to read, found the difficulty insurmountable, until he introduced a rival and a fellow-pupil. The son of one of the valets de chambre of the Empress was procured, and in company with him the young Napoleon quickly devoured his task. Such was the being destined to be brought up in nearly a perfect state of isolation.

"From the very first," says his tutor, M. Foresti, and he was with him full sixteen years, nearly the entire of the poor youth's Austrian life, "he exhibited the marked characteristics of his disposition. He was good-natured to his inferiors, friendly to his tutor, without any lively expressions of his feelings; he only obeyed on conviction, and always began with resistance. He loved to produce an effect, and generally it was evident that he thought a great deal more than he said: the difficulty then was to prevent this habit from growing into dissimulation."

Begging the excellent M. Foresti's pardon, such a character as he describes was by no means likely to be guilty of the mean vice of dissimulation, which is the result of a base fear, and is the last fault to taint the character of a child, the first movement of whose mind is to resist, and who only yields on good reason being shown. Other traits are equally inconsistent with this apprehension.

"He always received our reprimands with firmness, and however annoyed he might have been by them, he never retained any rancorous feeling: he ended always by allowing the justice of the representations that had been made to him. When any mutual coldness had taken place in the course of the day, owing to some severe lecture, in the evening, on taking leave of us, he was always the first to hold out a friendly hand, at the same time requesting that we would pardon his faults, and overlook the wrong he had done."

"He gave me," says M. Foresti, "many proofs of the command he had over himself. Amongst others, this:—up to the time of Maria-

Louisa's departure for her State of Parma, there was about him a person who had treated him with the greatest possible affection and attention. This was Mme. Marchand, the mother of the first valet de chambre of the Emperor: she remained with him all night, and every morning was the object of his warm infantine caresses. She was always present at his rising, and had the care of dressing him. On the departure of Maria-Louisa, Mme. Marchand returned to France at the same time with M. de Bausset,* who also had a great affection for the Prince. Henceforward I slept in his room at night. The first night I dreaded, lest in the morning he would give way to grief on finding that his affectionate nurse was no longer there. On waking, however, he spoke to me without hesitation, and, with a calmness astonishing for his age, said, 'M. Foresti, I wish to rise.'"

One of the youth's governors was a M. Collin, a poet and dramatist of Vienna of some celebrity. This gentleman could not help feeling that the young Napoleon's abhorrence of fiction was a sort of censure on his profession, and it is not to be wondered at that he endeavoured to dress up fiction in the garb likely to be most agreeable to the taste of the imperial pupil. In resorting to Robinson Crusoe for aid, may be perceived a tacit compliment to the youth's acuteness, for, assuredly, no other fiction was ever more like truth.

"The poetical genius of Collin," says M. Foresti, "appeared to triumph somewhat over this obstinate resolution to reject every thing which did not appear to be true in all the exactitude of truth. On the heights which overlook Schönbrunn, on the right of the elegant arcades of La Gloriette, and at the bottom of a dark avenue of trees, may be found a spot, altogether shut out from a view of Vienna, by deep thickets, and an impervious mass of wood; a spot, from which nothing can be viewed save the cheerful but solitary aspect of mountain tops, smiling valleys, and rugged peaks, that go on ascending and ascending until they reach the lofty elevation of the summits of the Schneeberg. Here there is a hut constructed after the fashion of Switzerland, or rather of the Tyrolese mountains, whence it is called the Tyrol's House. In this rustic abode and its neighbourhood nothing there is to remind the spectator of the vicinity of the capital. To this wild and quiet spot Collin would often bring the young Duke. He there told him the story of Robinson Crusoe. The imagination of the child warmed to the tale. Solitude and silence completed the illusion: he fancied himself in a desert, and Collin suggested that he should set himself to fabricate the utensils that would be necessary to him, were he under the necessity of providing for his own subsistence in a similar spot. He acquitted himself of the task with much handiness. A collection has been made of these things: they are placed in the pavilion, which still goes by the name of the House of the Duke de Reichstadt. The governor and his

* Author of *Mémoires sur l'Interieur du Palais.* See Foreign Quarterly Review, vol. 1, p. 400; vol. 3, p. 657.

pupil, by uniting their efforts and their industry, succeeded in scooping out a cavern resembling that described as the abode of Crusoe on his desert island."

Such is the immortality of genius. The creation of Defoe, the persecuted and unhappy, imagined in some garret, whether in Bristol or Whitechapel, becomes the factitious stimulus of a Prince's education; and that Prince the son of a banished ruler of France, far greater than the Grand Monarque, who in Defoe's day, seemed to have reached the *ne plus ultra* of earthly grandeur.

During the first period of the young Napoleon's instruction at Schönbrunn, his tutors were sadly perplexed by his extreme curiosity respecting his father, as to what had become of him, the causes of his fall, &c.: evasive answers did not satisfy him:—

"It was," says M. Foresti, "for us a species of torture. Happily the Emperor came at length; we hastened to inform him of the perpetual questions that were put to us, and to request his instructions on this point. The Emperor answered:—'Truth should be the basis of the education of the Prince; answer all his questions freely; it is the best, indeed the only mode of calming his imagination, and of inspiring him with confidence, which will be necessary for you, who have to guide him.'

"At first, he overwhelmed us with questions, and exhibited an affluence of ideas perfectly surprising. Finding that we were authorized, we answered him with perfect candour. That which the Emperor had foreseen came to pass. After a few days, he seemed satiated with this conversation, and thenceforward became more calm, more reserved on the subject. It may seem incredible, but it is nevertheless true, that at no time, under any circumstances, was he ever heard to utter one word of regret in connection with it. Later in life, we saw that he was fully aware of the faults his father had committed, but it was a subject to which he never on any occasion alluded.

"The news of his father's death was brought to Vienna by one of the couriers of MM. de Rothschild. At this moment the Comte de Dietrichstein (the superior governor) was absent from Vienna, and the Emperor charged me to communicate to the young Prince the melancholy intelligence. He was then just turned ten years of age. It was the 22d July, at Schönbrunn: in the same place, on the same day, on which he himself, eleven years after, was doomed to die, that I announced to him the death of his father. He wept bitterly, and his sadness endured for several days. 'M. de Foresti,' said he to me, one day, 'my father little thought that when he died you would be the person from whom I should receive such kindness and affection.'"

The youth alluded to an anecdote which the tutor had told him of his own career. M. Foresti had been taken prisoner by the French, and, on being sent to head-quarters, treated with some harshness by the Emperor.

Every pains were taken with the Duke's education. The dead languages he was taught by M. Collin, and afterwards, when Collin died, by M. Obenaus, who had been classical preceptor to half the imperial family. To these instructions, however he inclined but an indifferent ear, and, of all his Latin books, took heartily only to Cæsar's Commentaries. His military studies took the alternate days with his classical ones, and to them he gave himself up with all possible ardour. By way of a check upon the apathy of private instructions, the Emperor directed that from time to time a Commission should proceed to inquire into the Prince's progress. These investigations were sedulously made, and greatly contributed to excite his attention and stimulate his ambition. Before these Commissions the boy showed an extraordinary aptitude for learning, more particularly such learning as chiefly turned upon military pursuits.

"Being myself acquainted with geographical studies, and the arts connected with design," says M. Foresti, "I was able to form an opinion of his performances. I consider them as lively proofs of the talents that have just been extinguished; so much so, indeed, that I have thought it my duty to recommend that they should be collected and placed in the imperial archives, as memorials of his remarkable genius."

Among the voluminous papers written in Italian by the Prince, M. Foresti showed M. de Montbel a sketch of the life of Prince Schwarzenberg, in which there were various passages respecting Napoleon: they were written in a calm and candid tone. From the time that he attained his fifteenth year he had access to every book, without exception, relative to the history of his father and the French Revolution. He read them with avidity, and is said to have been a more perfect master of every thing that has been written on these subjects than any of the persons about him. His collections in French on history, chronology, and travels, are said to be immense. His military enthusiasm showed itself in the ardour with which he pursued every thing which had any connection with the accomplishments necessary to the soldier. "I wish him to have the education of a superior officer," said the emperor; but this was only seconding the taste he had demonstrated from his earliest years. At the age of seven, he was indulged with the uniform of a private;—after a time, in reward for the exactness with which he performed his exercise, he received the marks of the grade of sergeant, and his delight knew no bounds. He afterwards went through every other rank, and learned the duties of each in its minutest details. In his rank of private soldier, he used to stand sentinel at the door of the apartments of the Emperor. Whenever a member of the Court passed—if a man—he used to present arms with the utmost gravity; but never if a

woman. Some one rallied him on the subject: his answer was much more French than German:—"I am ready," he answered, with much liveliness, to present to the ladies—every thing but my arms." His respect for every thing military was remarkable. One day, when admitted to dine in company with the Emperor on a public day, he retreated from the place he usually occupied next to the Archdukes, and attempted to sit at the lower end of the table: when asked the reason, "I see generals here," said he; "they ought to precede me." The Empress one day at a *fête* wished him to sit among the ladies. He declined, saying, with the utmost gravity, "my place is among men." It was remarked by the people about him that he never was a child: he had scarcely ever associated with children, and had adopted the reflective manners of those about him. Without being any thing extraordinary as a child, his intelligence was from the first precocious. His answers were as quick as judicious; he expressed himself with precision and exactness, and with great elegance of phrase. He was a perfect master of the theory of the French and German languages, and wrote them with remarkable purity.

Up to a certain age, the young Prince had been permitted to store his memory with facts, and to interpret them according to his own judgment. At length, however, it was deemed right that the Austrian version of the European story should be made known to the young Prince. No fitter person could be found for the due execution of this task than the Prince de Metternich, who, under the name of lectures on history, gave him at length, and in a series of interviews, the whole theory of imperial politics. The leading views are given by M. de Montbel: they are very ingenious. Under the pretence of a sketch of his father's history, he points out to the young man the danger of rising above the station in which he is placed, and proves, in fact, that the very qualities which enable an individual to rise are precisely those which must afterwards ensure his fall. These lectures are described as having had the happiest results. The young Napoleon, or François, as he had been re-christened, eagerly accepted Metternich's instructions, and, in cases of any difficulty or doubt, always resorted to him for their solution. Both the Emperor and his minister, in short, seem to have succeeded in thoroughly winning the entire confidence of the youth: the practical result of which was, that no communication was ever made to him that he did not feel it a point of duty instantly to communicate. This was very convenient; and, if any proof were wanting, would prove the skill and true jesuitical dexterity of the Austrian minister. The youth is reported to have said to the Emperor and Metternich:—"The essential object of my life ought to be to

make myself not unworthy of the glory of my father. I shall hope to reach this point of my ambition, if I can appropriate to myself any of his high qualities, taking care to avoid the rocks on which he split. I should be lost to a proper sense of his memory, if I became the plaything of faction, and the instrument of intrigue. Never ought the son of Napoleon to condescend to play the miserable part of an adventurer." This was of course the point desired. It is said the young Prince was surrounded with intrigues, and the utmost vigilance, which he knew and approved of, was necessary to protect him from attempts to draw him into them.

One of the very few friends whom the Duke of Reischstadt made for himself (it was probably, however, arranged by the Metternich policy,) was a very deserving young officer, M. Prokesch, who had distinguished himself by his travels in the East, and several military publications. From him M. de Montbel gained much interesting information. The manner in which the acquaintance was formed is thus described by M. Prokesch :—

"After my long travels and my numerous missions, I had gone to visit my family at Gratz. The Emperor, who at that time was traversing Styria, stopped at this town. Pleased with my conduct, and the documents I had been able to lay before him, his Majesty testified his satisfaction by inviting me to his table. I found myself placed next the Duke of Reichstadt, whom I had often regarded with the interest generally inspired by him; but up to that moment I had never spoken to him, or heard him speak.

"'I have known you long,' said he to me; 'I have been taken up a great deal by you.'

"'How, Monseigneur,' said I, 'have I acquired this distinction?'

"'I have read, I have studied your work on the Battle of Waterloo, and I have been so pleased with it, that I have translated it into both French and Italian.'"

This was the commencement of an intimacy which appears to have afforded the young prince a vast source of consolation in his peculiar circumstances. To have a friend, not of his suite, appeared as if he were putting one foot at least in the world. In the first interview the Prince seemed deeply interested about the East. He multiplied questions on the actual state of those countries, the character of the inhabitants, and particularly of the men who were likely to influence their future condition. This subject led to his father's Egyptian campaigns: to the causes which stopped his progress before St. Jean d'Acre; he grew warm and enthusiastic in speaking of the possibilities which would have followed the capture of that important place, and on the immense results which the large and active mind of his father would have

drawn from it. He evidently took a grand and extensive view of the subject.

"While we were both animated with all the fire of this subject, M. de N * * *, was announced; the visit greatly annoyed him: I got up to leave him. Stay, said he, the general will prove but a transient evil. In fact he very soon departed, and we recommenced our conversation with fresh vigour. The manner and voice of the duke indicated the deep and lively interest he took in the subject; his tone was that of a lively attachment, a passionate admiration of the memory of his parent; he grew animated in talking of his achievements, which he knew in their minutest details, as well as in their general effect, and in thanking me for the justice I had done him in my work on Waterloo, he testified a strong desire to re-read it with me, and enjoined me to visit him often during his sojourn at Gratz, where he had some days still to remain. I very gratefully accepted this favour, and took care not to break my promise. From that time I have taken a very exact note in my journal of all the circumstances that struck me during my habits of intimacy with this young prince."

The epoch of the revolution of July may be supposed to have produced a startling effect on the mind of a young prince, so deeply interested in the fortunes of his father, and so devoured himself with military ambition. All that we are told on this subject, and, perhaps, all that he expressed, is of a description that comes upon us, at least, with some surprise. "I wish that the emperor would permit me to march with his troops to the succour of Charles X." Poor boy! he seems to have proved an apt pupil of the political pope—Metternich. Nevertheless, one who knew him well, the author of the "Lettre sur le Duc de Reichstadt," (who is said to be M. Prokesch himself,) tells us that his hope and aim was the throne of France, on which he expected to be placed, not by a party in France, but by the general demand of the country, backed by the consent of the monarchs of Europe. To this secret idea, working in the recesses of his heart, must be attributed his restless labours, his continued studies, his fatiguing exercises, his rage for riding, and his passion for military information. He dreaded to be taken unprepared: he as it were slept in his arms. He read all the journals and the pamphlets attentively, watched the play of parties, and shrewdly predicted their duration. We are not told how much he was indebted to M. de Metternich for lights on these intricate subjects. It was about this time that he was agitated by an attempt on the part of the Countess Camerata, a daughter of Eliza Bacciocchi, and consequently his cousin, married to a wealthy Italian noble, to involve him in a correspondence. A letter of hers is given, written in a style of considerable exaltation, with the view of exciting his ambition, and

probably urging him to some movement respecting France. The letter was laid on his table by some secret agency. One evening, in disguise, she laid wait for him on entering the Imperial Palace, seized his hand, and kissed it with an expression of the utmost tenderness. Obenaus, the duke's tutor, who was alone with him, and had been struck with surprise as well as the duke, stepped forward and asked her what she meant. "Who," cried she, in a tone of enthusiasm, "will refuse me the boon of kissing the hand of the son of my sovereign?" At the time, the duke was ignorant who it was that had tendered him this sort of equivocal homage, but her subsequent letters enlightened him on the subject. Napoleone Camerata is a lady whose personal and mental traits are said more nearly to resemble those of Napoleon than any other member of her family. She is remarkable for her resolution, her energy, and, say the reports, the incredible activity of her imagination: her tastes for horsemanship and the use of arms are points that might be more useful to her, had nature kindly bestowed on her the sex, as well as the character of her uncle.

The French revolution, and the prospect of war which it opened upon the different armies of Europe, added fresh excitement to the duke's military studies. He took M. Prokesch for his fellow student and friendly instructor. "We read, at this epoch, with much application, Vaudoncourt, Ségur, Norvins, the aphorisms of Montécuculli, the memoirs of Prince Eugene of Savoy, and the voluminous works of Jomini: all these works were in succession compared, discussed: they are covered with the prince's marks and marginal notes." About this time, also, he put into M. Prokesch's hands a manuscript of singular interest.

"It was a course of conduct traced by himself, in which he laid down the line prescribed to him by his duty. In this composition, interspersed with shrewd general views, he considered his position in relation to France and Austria, he pointed out the rocks which surrounded him, the means of avoiding these dangers, the influences to which his mind was subject, and by which it could be regulated, how his defects might be supplied, his ambition moderated, its movements governed, and in what way useful results might be extracted from tendencies which, if left to themselves, might be mischievous—to, in short, prepare for an honourable life, such as accorded with the rank in which he had been placed by providence. Particular circumstances, which gave to this memoir a remarkable character, induced the prince to destroy it a few days after he had shown it to me. I now deeply regret it; it would have been a document of lasting interest. He had formed a judgment of himself of extreme sagacity: it was a portrait of an exact moral likeness, in which he had forgot neither his faults nor his good qualities."—*Montbel*, p. 256.

This intense self-occupation is not healthy: it is, however, frequently the morbidness of genius. The young Napoleon was, however, in a false position: there was no natural vent by which such diseased action might be carried off. This was the moral poison which made his countenance

" ——————— éclatant de paleur:
On dirait que la vie à la mort s'y mélange."

The first appearance of the young man in society was on the 25th of January, 1831, at a grand party at the house of the British Ambassador, Lord Cowley. He was exceedingly struck with the strange mixture of remarkable persons, the representatives of the various changes that have lately taken place in Europe.

" How painful and wearisome," he said to a friend the next morning, " are parties of this sort to me. What striking contrasts were assembled in the same apartment! I saw about me (himself by the way, a monument of political change) two princes of the House of Bourbon, Baron de Kentzinger, the representative of Charles X., Maréchal Maison, the ambassador of Louis Philip, the Prince Gustavus Vasa, the natural heir of the throne of Sweden, and Count Lowenheilm, minister of Charles John. For the first time, I spoke with Maréchal Marmont: my father quoted him as a man of talent, and I found his conversation correspond with this character. I am to receive him to day. I am glad to find myself in communication with Frenchmen. I do not wish to remain absolutely unknown in France, or that so many erroneous ideas respecting my situation should continue to be entertained there."

This interview with Marmont, the only survivor of his father's early aide-de-camps, had for some time been passionately desired by him. Metternich's permission was obtained: the marshal and his ancient master's son were mutually pleased. The young Napoleon had a thousand questions to ask, a thousand points to clear up. Marmont is a man of education, agreeable conversation, and quite capable of giving all the advantage of language and expression to his experience. It ended in Marmont being engaged to give the duke a whole course of military lectures; the text being Napoleon's campaigns. They were continued until the subject was exhausted, or until, as is not improbable, their frequency had begun to give umbrage. Marmont retired, promising, at least, to see his pupil every fortnight.

The 15th June, 1831, the prince was named lieutenant-colonel, and took the command of a battalion of Hungarian infantry, then in garrison at Vienna. His exertions in the discharge of his new duties, in addition to his previous occupations, appear to have made the progress of his malady, which had till now pro-

ceeded secretly, visible both in his appearance and in his inability to bear fatigue. His voice became hoarse, he was subject to coughs and attacks of fever; he had shot up to a prodigious height, and his appearance bore many marks of the germs of the terrible phthisis, now breaking out into activity.

"Frequently," says his physician, Dr. Malfatti, "I have surprised him in the barracks in a state of dreadful lassitude. One day, amongst others, I found him stretched on a sofa, exhausted, powerless, and almost fainting. Not being able to conceal the wretched state in which I found him, he said, 'I abominate this wretched body that sinks under my will in this manner.' 'It is indeed provoking,' I answered, 'that your Highness cannot change your person, as you do your horses when they are tired; but permit me, Monseigneur, I conjure you, to remember, that you have set a will of iron in a body of glass, and that the indulgence of your will cannot prove otherwise than fatal.'

"His life was, in fact, at that time undergoing a process of combustion; he slept scarcely four hours, though, by nature, he required a great quantity of sleep; he scarcely ate at all. His soul was entirely concentrated in the routine of the manège and the different kinds of military exercises; he was, in fact, never at rest: he continued to increase in height, grew wretchedly thin, and his complexion gradually became thoroughly livid. To all my questions he answered, 'I am perfectly well.'"

Malfatti at length considered it necessary to present a representation to the Emperor on the state of the Duke's health. Both the patient and the physician were summoned to the imperial presence. Malfatti repeated his statement. The Emperor then turned to the young prince, and said, "You have heard Dr. Malfatti; you will repair immediately to Schönbrunn." The Duke bowed respectfully, and, as he was raising his head, he gave Malfatti a glance of excessive indignation. "It is you, then, that have put me under arrest," he said to him in an angry tone, and hurried away. He was placable, however, and soon forgave his amiable physician. The air and quiet of Schönbrunn were extremely beneficial; he began again to sleep and to eat; the first return of vigour was the signal for exertion. He commenced hunting, as the next best thing to war, in all weathers, and with a recklessness that, joined to similar exposure in visiting neighbouring military stations, soon re-established the malady. Phthisis assumed all its horrible power; he gradually sank, and, after dreadful suffering, and all the rallying and resistance which a strong will can sometimes effect against disease, he fell a victim to it on the 22d July, 1832, at Schönbrunn, on the same bed, in the same apartment that his father had occupied as the conqueror of Vienna.

His mother was present during his latter days, and seems to have suffered all a mother's pains. The emperor, whom all agree

in describing as an excellent and amiable old man, was greatly affected; a very strong affection subsisted between them; and, on the part of the Duke, it was evident, that the honest, straightforward character of the Emperor, joined with his paternal kindness and evidently honest intentions, had made a profound impression on the mind and heart of his grandson. On the opening of the body, the opinions of the Duke's physicians were fully confirmed; one lobe of the lungs was nearly gone; and, while the sternum was that of a mere child, the intestines presented all the appearance of decrepid age.

As he laid on his bier, his resemblance to his father, that resemblance so striking in the cradle, became once more remarkable. It might have been detected in life, but the flowing *blond* hair of his Austrian mother, and his tall form, would naturally mask the resemblance. His manner was graceful and elegant—the expression of his countenance somewhat sad; he was reserved till he fancied he had found a friend, when he became confidential, communicative, and even enthusiastic. He appears to have been universally beloved: no one can recollect an offence—much less an injury; he was full of kindness and consideration for every one about him. But one passion appears to have been developed—that of military ambition. The present with him was but a preparation; in fact, he lived in a future, which for him was never to arrive.

Looking at the interests of Europe, it is impossible to regret his death; looking at himself, it is impossible not to feel a great interest in his life; had, in truth, his various qualities and dispositions been more generally known during his youth, it is very probable, that the popular feeling of France would have more deeply sympathized in his fate. He was never regarded otherwise than as LE FILS DE L'HOMME, and as such let him rest—a last victim to the turbulent ambition of his own father.

CORRIGENDA.

In the article on Jäkel's *German Origin of the Latin Language*, in our last number, the reader is requested to make the following corrections.

In p. 372, note ‡, *for* Anglo-Saxon harja, *read* hëarra, rj being equal to rr.

385, note, *for* שמח, *read* שם, *disposuit*; שמה, *exaltatus est*, has also been supposed to be the root of the word, which, if this be true, would run parallel to Anglo-Saxon hëofon.

408, Jäkel's false paradigm of the Old High Dutch article, should have been corrected thus: *der, des, demu, den.*

ART. X.—*Le Roi s'Amuse, Drame,* par Victor Hugo. Paris, 1832. 8vo.

THE "Roi s'Amuse" has more than one claim upon attention: it is from the pen of Victor Hugo, and it has been prohibited after one representation, *par ordre.* The minor question of the particular drama is sunk in the far greater one of the freedom of dramatic literature.

The drama is a representation of a few supposed scenes of the life of Francis I. and a picture of his court and courtiers, their morals and manners; in the description of which, we believe, the drama deviates very slightly in fact, and not at all in spirit, from the truth. The amusement of Francis I., as is well known, was debauchery, carried on, however, like the debauchery of our Charles II., with so much gaiety and magnificence, that it was rather admired than censured in his day, and has always been very leniently dealt with by historians, who preferred to dwell upon the brilliant points of his character, his valour, his generosity, his patronage of the arts and letters, and his noble bearing as a knight and man of honour. It is now understood, that the due support of these royal qualities is dreadfully expensive to a people, and very much interferes with good government. The drama has ordinarily been as kind to these heroes as the historians: a scene, an exploit, an anecdote, has been selected from the lives of different hero-kings, originally, perhaps, invented by some court-newsman, at that time enjoying high office and proud title, though occupied by menial duties, and has been expanded into a grand and solemn fable, adorned with the loftiest sentiments, and enacted by players on stilts, in whose mouths a sentence of ordinary life would sound a gross absurdity. Historians, as we have said, have changed their tone on this subject, and why should not dramatists? Here is M. Hugo, who has put the king and his courtiers in a tolerably true light, as viewed with reference to the general good. The amusement in which he has exhibited his majesty and the gentlemen of his court as engaged, is such as has not been uncommon in high places, though, probably, an elegant selection of such scenes was never made before for the purposes of the drama. The morals of many of the most brilliant courts of Europe may be classed under two heads: (1) the infamy of *cocuage;* (2) the glory of *concubinage.* Like the French *petit-maitre,* repairing to the country with a thorough distaste for country pleasures, who tells his host that he proposes to give himself wholly to "seduction;" this seems to have been the business of most courts—especially French courts—and the memoirs and biographies of the times overflow with proofs. But there arises a question, whether that which has been told in books, and conversed of by all people for many years, is a fit subject for the drama—for exhibition in short? If there were now any good object in depreciating royalty, in exhibiting the atrocities of a tyrannical aristocracy, the exhibition might be justified; but if circumstances are such, that the popular danger is less—that royalty and aristocracy are already depreciated far below their true par, then such publication is at least not recommendable. But who is to be the judge? Certainly not royalty itself—not the aristocracy. It is the fact of their having so long had the entire sway over publications of all kinds, that has so long permitted abuse to reign without dispute—or at least with the *Bastille* or *Bicêtre* for alternative.

The charge of immorality has been put forth against *Le Roi s'Amuse.* The effect of the play is moral in the extreme: it disgusts the auditor with brilliant seduction, it shows the wretchedness of buffoonery, the misery of sinful revenge. If debauchery be exhibited, it is without one single attribute of delusion. The king revels throughout as a sort of licensed freebooter—the destroying prey-seeker of his own forest—attended by a crowd of jackalls, more than half afraid of their own flesh and blood. In order to gratify a base appetite, he visits his lust upon the purest and most virtuous of mankind: he outrages the noble spirit of a Saint Vallier, who a thousand times over preferred death to dishonour: he debauches even the daughter of his fool, a bright spot of purity and beauty in the midst of deformity and vice; he, by another gross and degrading indulgence, draws down the physical destruction of the victim whom he had already morally destroyed; and drives the poor tool of his leisure, his ribald fool, to madness and despair. For jesters were men, and had their homes and their children, and, like *bourreaux*, could be loved and respected in a circle of their own, where the man is loved for his manliness, and without regard to the artificial distinctions of society.

To give our own opinion of *Le Roi s'Amuse*, we would say, that, as a scenic affair, it is very poor; its dramatic points are not striking, with few exceptions; at the same time, there are in it many eloquent passages, possessing that extraordinary mixture of force, fancy, and finesse, peculiar to Victor Hugo. There is, however, much of the melodramatic, and no finer scene of the horrible kind was ever imagined than the one in which the rancorous jester has got, as he fancies, the corpse of the monarch in a sack, and is gloating over his remains, when he hears in the distance the familiar voice of the king, chaunting one of his ordinary *refrains.*—It is he! it is the king. Whom then has he got in his sack, what corpse is he about to hurl into the filthy river? it is dark—he fumbles over the features, a horrible suspicion comes across him: he knows his revenge is disappointed, but how—a storm rages, he is in the midst of the raging elements, and at last a friendly flash of lightning comes to his aid, and discloses the features—of his own daughter—the violated, injured Bertha, the only object on earth he regarded, for whom the volcano of vengeance had raged in his breast, for whom it had burst forth in destructive violence.

We have some difficulty in conjecturing what could be the motive of the arbitrary act of the ministry in forbidding the representation of this play: it is scarcely possible to attribute it to the verse which has been quoted in the French papers, supposed to allude to a female branch of the Orleans' family, cotemporary with the latter days of Louis XIV. and the Regency. The same reasons would induce the suppression of half the memoirs of the country, independent of the fact, that the allusion is as applicable to almost any other aristocratic family. No: we apprehend that the true reason is a general one—the tendency, as our lawyers say, of the drama to bring kings into contempt. The arguments against any proceeding so absurd have been urged in all their force in one of Erskine's speeches, in which he eloquently defends what was considered a libel on King John. Subjects bear with kings in their time, but the historians and dramatists of posterity must really be permitted to deal with them as they think proper.

ART. XI.—*Di varié Società e Istituzioni di Beneficenza in Londra.* 1828. 1832. 2 vols. 12mo. Lugano.

HERE is another Italian traveller, of whom it is impossible to speak in terms less favourable than the one who forms the subject of a preceding article. Signor Arrivabene, of Milan (whom we have already had occasion to introduce to our readers in No. XIX. p. 261), is understood to be the author of these unpretending, though very valuable volumes, in which he has laid before his Italian countrymen a clear, judicious, and well written account of the numerous charitable and other benevolent institutions, which the English metropolis can boast of above any other city in the world. Our object in noticing this work more at length than we did the other, is to make our English readers acquainted with some of the observations which this intelligent foreigner has made concerning several of our philanthropic institutions. It is well, at times, to know what an unbiased visiter, wholly removed from the sphere of local connexions and predilections, thinks of such matters.

The first volume treats more especially of institutions for educating the poor, and also for preventing distress and degradation among them. The second volume treats of those which come directly to their assistance when reduced to a state of actual want: "in this distribution," says M. A. "I have endeavoured to follow the order of charity herself, who takes, as it were, the infant man in her arms from his very birth, watches his progress through life, and never leaves him until infirmities or old age have laid him in the grave."

Of the infant schools, of which Pestalozzi had the first idea in Switzerland, and which are now spread over this kingdom, our author speaks with unqualified approbation. After treating of the Charity, the National, and the Sunday Schools, he observes that all these are still insufficient for the great number of poor children, and he wishes that parochial schools were established upon the system peculiar to Scotland, "where" he says "they have proved the greatest blessing that Providence could bestow on the country. It is chiefly through their agency that the Scotch people, once semi-barbarous, turbulent, and rapacious, have become the humane, peaceable, and industrious race they now are." —p. 36.

To us, who have been often disgusted with the offensive display of irreligious principles in the writings of many a continental liberal, the total absence in M. Arrivabene's work of any thing like sneers or malevolent reflections against either the established church or any of the religious communities which exist in this country, has been peculiarly gratifying. Here is a *liberal*, but in the honourable sense of the word, a native of a Catholic country, an emigrant from Italy, who speaks of religion as the great means of improvement of mankind, who sneers not at our observance of the Sabbath-day, so dull and insufferable to the eyes of many a witty and free-thinking visiter to these shores, who speaks with respect of our clergy, and praises the zeal of missionaries of every Christian persuasion who labour to spread the light of the Gospel over the world, and the exertions of the Bible Society for the same purpose. The benevolence of our author is pure; he thankfully acknowledges all the good that has

been done, and while he suggests more yet to be done, he does not rail at any one for not having done it before. We have seldom, if ever, read a book written by a foreign traveller, so perfectly honest, so temperate and sober, so totally unmixed with the bitterness of party feeling, religious or political. In speaking of the unavoidable changes which the economy of society undergoes at different epochs,

"Either," he says, "we must make of social communities so many monasteries, or by leaving men free to manage their own affairs, we must submit to the inconveniences which will at times result from their management. It has been neither caprice nor perversity of feeling that has caused the small farmers and cottagers almost to disappear from the face of England, but the new economical forms which the nation has assumed. The landholders of former times were probably neither more nor less humane than the present ones, but they found their interest in dividing their property into small tenements, which then corresponded with the general system of society; the present landed proprietors divide their estates into large farms, from motives of a similar nature."—vol. i. p. 132.

And after accounting for the causes that have produced the change, he adds—

"Undoubtedly distress among the workmen in the cities is at times very great; undoubtedly there is often great distress also among the labourers in the country; but we must guard against exaggeration, we must look more to facts, and not give way to imagination. A foreigner who comes to England, with his mind full of the tales he has heard and read of the extreme misery of a very great portion of the English people, and of the alarming increase of the poor, not meeting in his rambles with any considerable number of miserable looking objects, naturally asks, where are the crowds of paupers I have heard so much of? He will probably be shewn in the country neat cottages, their walls covered with fruit trees and flowers, with glazed windows, and in the inside of them beds with curtains, not unfrequently a clock, a piece of carpet, and sufficient furniture; the men warmly clad, wearing shoes and stockings, and eating fine wheaten bread at their meals. These men, he will be told, receive parish allowance,—they form a considerable number of the English poor."—p. 141.

And certainly, to one who is familiar with the habits and mode of living of the corresponding class in most parts of the continent, the lot of the persons above described cannot appear, at first sight, so very deplorable. Our author discusses at great length the system of the English poor laws, and the manner in which they are administered; he reprobates the abuses in the latter, especially that of paying labourers' wages out of the poor rates, and that of encouraging marriages between paupers. He observes that the whole of the rates levied by the parish on the housekeepers, are generally mistaken by foreigners as one and the same thing as the poor rates, whereas the latter often do not constitute much above one-half of the whole amount, the remainder being for the paving, lighting and repairing of streets and roads, for the watching or police, for the building of churches, &c. After fairly stating the various arguments for and against the system of workhouses, he adds—

"England is the only nation in Europe where the law gives the poor a right to support at the public expense, but several other governments having declared that begging was a crime, have been obliged in consequence to open depôts of

mendicity; in other words, workhouses for the destitute. In many countries however, even in those where it is acknowledged that all men have certain rights, there has been as yet a culpable propensity to treat beggars as men having no rights or will of their own. There has been a mania for general systems, for placing all relief to the poor under the direction of government. And yet the depôts have not answered the expectations formed of them; they have not extirpated mendicity, as any one travelling over the continent may perceive. After we have examined the interior of some of these depôts, it is some consolation to know that many mendicants succeed in evading their confinement."

In fact, the mortality in these houses is often frightful; M. Arrivabene doubts very much of the justice of making the act of begging a punishable offence in itself; and he quotes MM. Duchatel, Guizot, and Lucas, in support of his doubts.—vol. ii. p. 127.

"Much may be done to diminish mendicity, more still to prevent fraud and imposture, but beyond a certain point, especially in our densely-inhabited cities, I fear we must resign ourselves to the sight of a certain number of beggars, for whose wants private compassion, generally more discriminating than public charity, must be left to provide."

Of the Mechanics' Institutions, our author observes, that at the beginning of their establishment they awakened the fears of many and the exaggerated hopes of others.

"But there were persons more dispassionate, who, without either fearing or hoping too much from those institutions, considered that they would tend to improve the arts, and to refine the manners of the artizans, and who trusted for the continuance of social order to the powerful stimulus of necessity, which will ever oblige man to work, and to the inequality of men's minds for the preservation of social inequality. The truth of this has already been shown in London, where most workmen bore the distresses of 1826 with exemplary patience, and censured the conduct of those of their brethren who broke the machines. Mechanics will become persuaded of the necessity of being temperate and provident, of saving something out of their wages for times of distress, and they will learn to understand better the relative principles of capital and labour, of profits and wages, and their inseperable connection."

And on the subject of the co-operative societies, he says:

"It is much easier to see and to lament that the working classes are, all over the world, doomed to toil and privations, than to devise means of changing a state of things, which seems inherent in society and in human nature itself. But there are some men who imagine that, if their nostrums were adopted, poverty and distress would disappear from the face of the earth. Foremost among these men in Great Britain stands Mr. Owen."

After speaking favourably of his intentions and charitably of his eccentricities, after relating the vicissitudes of his schemes both here and in America, and their ill success, he adds—

"Such is the fate of all those vast projects which aim at changing all at once the condition of mankind, without being grafted on the present state of society, and on the habits of men."

And after mentioning the schemes of community of labour, community of goods, and the common education of children, &c., and

noticing the weekly meetings of the London Co-operative Society in his time, he makes the following sensible reflections.

" It is quite sufficient to any person of but moderate judgment to have attended one of those meetings, in which questions of political science are debated, in order to estimate them as they deserve. The speeches consist chiefly of invectives against the rights of property, and against what they are pleased to call *the monopoly of the lands* by the actual owners, to which causes, and to the whole present social order, they attribute the miseries of the greater part of the human race, miseries for which they see in the co-operative societies the only, the universal panacea. That poor mechanics should think and say such things need not be matter of wonder, but that men in a higher rank, and who have received a better education, should flatter and delude their uninformed brethren by such sophistries, is subject enough of surprise; for they cannot but know that it was the establishment and the security afforded by the laws to the rights of property, that began to diminish the mass of individual misery all over the world."—vol. i. p. 162.

And again, about the absurd outcry against " the tyranny of capital,"

" When a workman receives, in the shape of wages, a part of the produce, in the creation of which he participates, and this by a voluntary convention between him and the master, or capitalist, where is the tyranny, where the robbery? Tyranny and robbery occurred in former ages, when many men were *obliged* to work for one who gave them whatever pittance he pleased, a state of servitude from which they were not allowed to emerge. But in the present condition of society no man is forced to work in a particular spot for a particular master. Talent, good conduct, good luck make workmen rise to be masters, while capitalists and masters, from opposite causes, frequently descend to the condition of workmen. Instances of the former are more rare, it is true, because it is easier for a rich man to become poor than for a poor man to become rich, and because good qualities are scarcer than bad ones; yet the number of successful workmen is increasing, and may still further increase through the advancement of their moral powers. But to strive to impress upon workmen a false notion of the mechanism of society, to instil into their minds the poison of envy and hatred against those who happen to be better favoured by fortune, are certainly not the best means of improving their condition or making them happy."—vol. ii. p. 352.

This was written some years since; what would our author say were he to attend *now* the debates of the society at King's Cross, another and a more recent foundation of Mr. Owen, at which debates the belief in revelation, and the hopes and fears of a future state, are openly stigmatized as obstacles to the developement of the faculties and to human happiness; and this before hundreds of mechanics and their wives, who cannot possibly have the information required for the rational investigation of such questions, and who, dissatisfied with their present condition, are ready to adopt any wild solution of the problem which sophistry can devise?

If unemployed artizans can be benefited by exchange of goods and labour notes, so much the better; but where is the necessity of making infidels of them? Will infidelity improve their condition? We speak not of moral responsibility, of the awful denunciations against those who give scandal to their brethren; these are written in a book, which to them is of no authority.

Our author speaks with approbation of the friendly societies and savings' banks, as being, next to the schools, the institutions best calculated to raise and to "improve the condition of the poor classes." He gives us some information on the *societés de prevoyance*, which answer the same purpose in France. In Paris there are two hundred of these societies, of which 19,000 workmen are members, and their savings amounted last year to 1,300,000 francs. The regulations to maintain order and decency at their meetings are worthy of attention: in the savings' banks of the same city there were, at the beginning of 1830, eleven years after their first institution, thirty-five millions of francs.

M. Arrivabene treats at great length of the societies for the improvement of Prison Discipline, and gives many statistical details on similar institutions in France and elsewhere. The society for the Promotion of Permanent Peace gives occasion to the following reflections:—

"War encourages, for the moment, certain branches of industry, while it stops others; when peace comes, the first cease immediately, whilst the latter revive but slowly. War gives rise to a few rapid fortunes, made Heaven knows how, and we meet, therefore, with minds base enough to invoke war in the hope of being among the favoured few. There are also minds of a higher stamp, who will approve of war for national interests. But the morals of men, in general, are not improved by war, which is besides decidedly opposed to the precepts of Christianity. The Society of 'Christian Morality' in France and that 'for Universal Peace,' at Geneva, co-operate with those in England to diffuse anti-warlike principles. The President of the Geneva Society, M. Sellon, received last year a letter from the King of Prussia, expressing the interest that monarch takes in the proceedings of the society, and his intention to favour its object *by his external policy*. The society received similar communications from the King of the French, and from the late M. Perier. It is painful, however, to reflect that many obstacles will yet interfere between these wishes and their fulfilment."—vol. ii. p. 253.

And here we must take leave of M. Arrivabene, recommending his work as full of interesting information, useful to English as well as foreign readers. Whilst the latter will be enabled by the attentive perusal of these two small volumes to form a more correct estimate of the English nation, than they would derive from a dozen of books of travels; the former will see in them reasons for being better satisfied with their own country, and for cherishing its institutions, which bear in them the germ of further improvement.

Art. XII.—*Briefe eines Lebenden. Herausgegeben* von F. F. (Letters by one of the Living. Edited by F. F.) 2 vols. 12mo. Berlin. 1831.

However critical opinion may be divided touching his Puckler Muskau Highness's account of England and English society, there can be little doubt but that Germans are, generally speaking, the individuals best adapted to achieve and record travels in such lands of enchantment, of almost holy associations, as Greece and Italy. Free alike from French vanity and from English superciliousness, Germans surrender themselves with frank *bonhommie* to the impressions of the moment; and even their

peculiar *subjectiveness*,* by flinging the colour of the traveller's own mind over what he sees, only serves to give greater vivacity to his descriptions. Their impassioned imaginations, swayed by their *æsthetic** philosophy, dispose them to kindle into enthusiastic rapture alike at the splendid remains of classic genius, at the brilliant revival of the fine arts in Italy during the middle ages, at the really admirable creations of modern talent, and even to contemplate with satisfaction the rude, stiff, imperfect, and half-faded attempts of second-rate or uncultivated powers; whilst a genial joviality of temperament, curiously blended with these more etherial qualities, by equally disposing them always to delight in sunshine, good wine, and female beauty, (without detriment to their eternal and inviolable fidelity to the "beloved one"—*die geliebte*—left at home,) maintains their spiritual part in a constant state of complacency, favourable to the birth of generous admiration. All this we knew long before the "Letters of one of the Living," written during a journey to and in Italy, met our eyes, and should have said as much, probably, in answer to any inquirer who might have questioned us touching German fitness for picturesque travelling. Yet so weary, so heart-sick, are we of Italian tours, with their eternal admeasurements of standing churches and fallen temples, with their *cognoscente* cant and technical slang-crammed descriptions of pictures and statues, that with a loathing reluctance, subdued only by a sense of duty, did we open these little volumes.

Virtue was here, as usual, its own reward. We found no more of such description than was indispensable from a professed *æsthetiker* and *kunst-freund* (friend of the arts), the letter-writer avowing a conviction, as complete as our own, of the impossibility of conveying by words any idea whatsoever of the merits of a picture or a statue, or of the effect of a building; and in lieu of all this we have a more lively portraiture than we at this moment recollect having before met with of Italy, animate and inanimate. Amongst other points, the remarkable beauty of form of the Italian hills, the amphitheatrical or terrace arrangement of the towns built up a mountain side by the sea coast, such as Genoa and Naples, the vegetable wealth displayed in the wild luxuriance of oranges, lemons, myrtles, and an hundred plants that we are accustomed to see laboriously reared and preserved by horticultural skill and care, and the rich tints of a southern sea and sky, are presented to us with an intensity of delight, which, even more than the graphic truth of the descriptions, places the scenes before the reader's eye. But we seem actually transplanted amongst them when the traveller vivifies these scenes with the fervid Italian life, so unlike all his and our northern habits; when he exhibits to us the streets of Florence swarming with rival mountebanks eloquently haranguing, with story-tellers, &c. &c.; when he leads us through the silence of the desert *Campagna* to the Eternal City, or to

* Can it be necessary at this time of day to explain that, in modern German, *subjective* describes the character of mind which stamps external objects with its own feelings and opinions—*objective*, that which is vividly impressed by them as they are? or that—*æsthetic*—which being taken from the Greek word *αἰσθανομαι*, literally means perceptive—philosophy, signifies in the same creative and somewhat fanciful language, the philosophy of the sublime and beautiful—the theory of the fine arts and of poetry?

Naples, through a clamour, a hurry, and an uproar, that alarm him with fears of having arrived at the very out-breaking of an insurrection. We incline to translate part of his visit to Mount Vesuvius, as combining specimens of his descriptive style in both kinds. We must premise that our letter-writer was associated with a party of German artists.

"Scarcely had the carriage stopped when we were surrounded, and ere we could put out a foot, already were we torn to pieces within it; a rabble springing upon us from all sides, who grasped us by the head and the collar, by the coat-skirts and the legs, dragged us out, and, like so many bales of merchandize to be forwarded, packed us upon donkeys. Vainly we protested with hand and foot against such forwarding; vainly we clamoured for our intended guide, Signor Salvator, who had been recommended to us as the only rational being in Resina; every one screamed to us that he was either the brother or the cousin of Salvator, or Salvator himself. As our destiny seemed irrevocably fixed, we now begged as a favour to be led to an inn, where we might leave our baggage and take some refreshment. This was granted; those who had got possession of us, shoved us, with their donkeys, into a narrow, dirty yard, and fastened the gates behind us, to cut off further competition of other donkey men. Four or five of these worthies only were now with us, and, perceiving our advantage, I asked which was Salvator. One of the most impudent instantly stepped forward, assured us by all the saints that he was Salvator, and rudely pressed us to enter his house. I seized him by the throat, and said very loudly and distinctly, 'Thou liar and cheat! I know Salvator, and thou art not he! But whichever of you will fetch me Salvator shall have these two *carlini*.' This conduct, and the offered reward, staggered the whole pack; even without, the silver sound of the *carlini* had been heard, and it was not long ere the gates were thrown open: we found ourselves again at large, and saw the rout shrinking back before a stately man, distinguished from the rest not so much by his dress as by his port and behaviour. He said, 'You would place yourselves under the protection of Salvator, and Salvator will take care that you are treated with respect. You other folks begone, and let none of you cross my threshold.' The crowd dispersed, raving and railing indeed, but we were free."

Under the conduct of this stately guide the party ascend the hill, attended by a donkey loaded with provisions, that they may not be obliged to visit a hermit, called by Salvator "a rogue, who sells sour wine for its weight in gold." The arrangement appears to have been fortunate, inasmuch as the hermitage, which this strange sort of hermit vehemently urged them to enter as they passed, was occupied by a singing and dancing company of officers half-seas over, and of damsels no better than they should be.

"Higher up, vegetation suddenly ceases, and we find ourselves upon the field of death, upon the territory of utter desolation. ... Amongst the *glaciers* and ice-fields of the Alps a shiver seizes us, but there we see how a kindly sunbeam steals a tear from the hard mass: we hear, rushing underneath, the streams by which they fertilize the valley far below; and amidst the crystal of the ice and snow, rays of light sport in a varying, moving, glitter of colours; whilst amid these black lava-clods, these petrified billows of mud, dwells no hope of light or life, and those fearful verses inscribed by Dante over the eternal gates of hell would be here in their proper place. Laboriously and cautiously does the mule climb over the *scoriæ*, through which a new path is gradually trodden. . . . . We first breathed freely as we reached the foot of the ash-cone inclosing the crater. We dismounted, and, surrounded by the

great blocks of basalt with which Vesuvius has here diced, we emptied a few bottles of tears (the celebrated wine called *Lachrymæ Christi*), and cast a consolatory glance over the sea and the happy landscape in the valley. Before us now lay the cone-shaped summit, formed of masses of pumice-stone and of lava, and of loose ashes: no path, no way leads upwards; every forward step buries the trace of its predecessor; and one often climbs without moving, as the advanced foot slides back again."

Up this pleasant hill they run a race, and our friend, the living letter-writer, first reaches the ridge of the crater.

"Fearfully it thundered beneath me; storm-winds roared as though the hurricane were passing; a double pillar of flame burst upwards, and with a fearful explosion the dread hell-jaws in the deep below vomited a red-hot stone-hail, which, like unparalleled fire-works, flung thousands of balls of light and of rockets far above our heads. . . . Over the inside of the crater is poured out a sulphur-slime, cracked in many places by the heat underneath, and which exhibits not only the usual sulphur-yellow, but ever-changing tints of green, blue, red and orange; and as metallic colours notoriously surpass all others in brilliancy, we saw outspread before us, so long as the sun shone, a wonderously glittering carpet; which, however, despite the magnificence that charmed the eye, had something of the horror of a gaily variegated serpent-skin. The colours gain especial vivacity from the contrast of the black hill in the middle. The process of the eruption appears to have a very regular course. A subterraneous thunder is first heard, then follows a tempest of wind, flames burst out of the black hill through the double-mouthed crater, and thereupon follows a threefold discharge of stones: the whole process lasted uniformly from eight to ten minutes. * * * A more kindly and soothing spectacle drew us to the highest height of the ridge; this was the setting of the sun, that sank into the sea behind Ischia, and parted from the world with a glowing kiss. The green islands swam in the purple flood of ocean, and the waves broke in golden foam on the garlanded shore."

This grows longer than we had intended, and we must needs leave Mount Vesuvius abruptly, omitting even Signor Salvator's manifold virtues and confidence in German travellers, because there is another passage which, with little reference to the living traveller himself, we are bent upon extracting. At Rome the letter-writer met with Thorvaldsen, and as we flatter ourselves that the Danish Life of the great artist, reviewed in our last number but one, may have even increased the interest our readers would naturally feel in so extraordinary a man, we shall translate what is here said of him. The traveller is quitting the Roman *Teatro Argentino*, disgusted with the performance.

"In the lobby I met Thorvaldsen, who, with much friendliness, recollected our former meetings at Berlin and Dresden. Late at night he accompanied me to my villa, and invited me to seek him in his workshop the next morning. Since this visit I have seen the dear Thorvaldsen almost daily, either at his residence, adorned with the paintings of living artists, whom he patronizes more beneficially than many a prince, or in his workshop. We often visit the Vatican together, yet oftener some one of the taverns, where, mingling with his youthful countrymen, unaffectedly discarding high thoughts, and enjoying life, he smokes his cigar and empties his *fogliettu* (an Italian measure of wine.) In his *studio* are casts of all the statues and *bas-reliefs* that he has completed during the three-and-thirty years he has lived in Rome. There too are a crowd of great works which, aided by numerous assistants, he still has in hand. To

the little wooden out-house in which he wrought his first statue, a Jason, he has built on a second and a third larger room; and at length, the world of gods and heroes that he has collected requiring a complete Olympus, he has filled the lower story of the Barberini palace with them. With each of his productions some interesting moment of the artist's life is connected, and these he readily communicates to his friends in his simple, one might say childish, manner."

This ready communicativeness does not quite agree with Professor Thiele's account of the difficulty of obtaining information from Thorvaldsen touching himself, and, truth to tell, we place more confidence in the Dane, wholly engrossed with his illustrious countryman, and who avouches his statements with his name, than in our anonymous living traveller, whom, well as we like him, we suspect of some little colouring for effect. We trust him in essentials, but we doubt he embellishes common-place incidents, sometimes into romance, sometimes, when he stumbles upon English tourists, into farce; at least we can no otherwise understand his stories of English lords and ladies, unless, indeed, he may chance to have now and then taken a Cheapside haberdasher for a British peer. Upon the present occasion the story he tells, as from Thorvaldsen's own mouth, is that of the Jason, and varies from Thiele's version of it only in minor details, thus confirming our opinion of our letter-writer's kind of veracity. Having so recently narrated this anecdote, we shall not repeat it. Our letter-writer thus proceeds;

"Since then (Mr. Hope's visit) Thorvaldsen is become a rich, celebrated, and, in every sense, a great man: he is worth, perhaps, half a million of dollars; he is President of the Academy; he has been decorated with ribbons and stars by all the princes of Europe; and, what is thought much more of here, Pope Leo XII. has visited him, the Protestant, in his workshop, where Thorvaldsen, in his working dress, chisel and hammer in hand, received the Holy Father standing, whilst all the company knelt around. And how little store does Thorvaldsen set by all these distinctions, how plain and simple is his nature, how entirely does he belong to Art and Artist-life! But this artist-life distinguishes Rome from every other place, for here only do artists really enjoy their existence, since here they hold faithfully together in cheerful association. Of this artist-life Thorvaldsen is the heart and soul. He does not shut himself up, grandee like; he thanks God when princes and princesses, bankers and ambassadors, let him alone, for infinitely does he prefer spending a joyous evening, in a smoke-blackened tavern, with his young kinsmen in Art. .... Every artist, whatever be his station or country, is certain of a cordial reception from Thorvaldsen; and never does it occur to him that he can let himself down, because, gladsomely mingling with young men as though they were his equals, he gives himself a jovial day amidst wine and song."

How far our readers may agree with the German traveller in admiring this preference of smoking and drinking with the mad youth of Germany, over associating with good company, we leave to themselves; and were about to conclude, when the words "wine and song" reminded us that we had said nothing of our living letter-writer's poetry. In fact poetry is now, we believe, nearly as common as reading and writing in Germany; and it would be more requisite to mention, of any given author so circumstanced, that he is not, than of all the rest that they are, poetical. With respect to the verses thickly scattered through these two

volumes, they are for the most part given as hasty effusions, when not as *improvisations;* and we must say, that those we read appeared to us so thoroughly in that light—moreover, something less poetical than the prose descriptions—that the idea of translating any of them never crossed our brain.

ART. XIII.—*A Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Tongue, with a Praxis.* By Erasmus Rask, Professor of Literary History in, and Librarian to, the University of Copenhagen, &c. &c. A New Edition, enlarged and improved by the Author. Translated from the Danish by B. Thorpe. Copenhagen. 1830. 8vo. pp. 224.

THE appearance of the present volume supplies what has long been a desideratum in English literature. It has been a cause of complaint to all who have investigated our early vernacular remains, that there have been no guides to direct them, and that each student had to form a Grammar and a Dictionary of Saxon for himself. It is no less surprising than distressing to notice the blunders into which Hickes has fallen, and in which Elstob, Lye, Manning, and, indeed, all who have written upon the subject, have followed him most religiously.

We are much indebted to the distinguished foreign scholar who has at length freed us, to a certain degree, from this lamentable state of things by the publication of his Saxon Grammar. In its arrangement he has taken the liberty of thinking for himself, and by doing so has shown us the errors which have originated from a superstitious adherence to the dogmas of his predecessors. An extensive acquaintance with the early languages of the north has enabled him to explore with greater safety the intricacies of our own, and by the aid of this species of comparative anatomy he has, in several instances, detected the springs which direct and influence certain peculiarities of formation, the principle of which would have probably been hidden from one who had directed his attention solely to the study of the Anglo-Saxon language.

The limits within which we are necessarily limited prevent us from offering to our readers more than a very general outline of the work. We would, however, direct the attention of the student to the important light which Rask has thrown upon the principles of the language, by what he has advanced regarding accentuation. The darkness in which this radical organization of the Saxon has hitherto lain is marvellous, the more especially when we notice its adoption in early manuscripts, and how essential a knowledge of it is towards a comprehension of the elements of the tongue. A pretty extensive examination of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, in which lie the proofs of the truth or the incorrectness of Mr. Rask's system, enables us to say that these manuscripts fully support the soundness of his views, and that the few instances of misapprehension and omission discoverable in his Grammar only leave the more room for us to wonder at their paucity. The division of nouns into simple and complex, of adjectives into definite and indefinite, are new to us in England; and the clearness of this arrangement forms an admirable contrast to the endless subdivisions, exceptions, and annotations,

which perplex the unhappy wight who has been labouring under the guidance of Hickes. But it is in the investigation of the verbs that Rask appears to the greatest advantage, and his classification of them is simple and obvious: of its accuracy there cannot be a better proof than the order and perfect regularity which it enables us to discover in numerous formations previously considered as irregular. His observations upon prefixes and postfixes are written with less care than the previous portion of the Grammar, probably from his not considering the subject as one meriting a deeper discussion. The same excuse cannot be urged for the slighting manner in which he has treated another branch—that of Syntax; in this part, although all the more prominent rules are exhibited, those more deeply hidden and nicer peculiarities, of which we cannot suppose him to be ignorant, are passed over without notice. This portion of the work therefore appears to great disadvantage when compared with the manner in which he has treated the verbs. The chapter upon the laws of Saxon poetry is excellent; and Rask displays a decided superiority over the dogmas of Hickes, Conybeare and W. Grimm. The volume concludes with a very good praxis, by the aid of which, and the other helps which this Grammar affords to the student, the labour of acquiring a tolerable knowledge of the language has been materially shortened and facilitated. It would be unjust to withhold our thanks from the gentleman who has conferred such a benefit upon English scholars as that of introducing to them, in an English dress, a publication upon which all subsequent investigations into the history and formation of the language of our forefathers must be mainly founded.

The preceding observations were committed to paper some months since: in the interval which has elapsed between their coming before us in types, the melancholy tidings have arrived that the distinguished author is now beyond the reach of our praise or censure—Erasmus Rask is no more!

In the Literary Intelligence of the present number, under the head of Denmark, will be found such particulars of the life and literary labours of this remarkable scholar and linguist as we have been able to collect together.

Art. XIV.—*La Ville de Refuge; Rêve philantropique.* Paris. Ladvocat. 1832. 8vo.

This is a publication to which it is not necessary to devote more than a few words, nor, indeed, would it be worth noticing at all, if it were not of that class of books which form a sort of index to the state of opinion in France in regard to social morality, and the present wants of society in general. The motto of the book is "*prier, travailler, s'instruire,*" and it is appended to a vignette representing emblems of religion, implements of industry, and books and other sources of instruction. This motto expresses briefly the whole contents of the book, which amount to this—that governments ought to labour to make their subjects pious, industrious, and intelligent.

The visitor is introduced into a temple in which the inscription "Love one another" appears prominent, as the basis of the faith of the worshippers. One of these, an old man, is made to say of the ceremonies of the temple:—

"Each of us professes here freely his own worship; but each of us believes in the faith which he embraces, and conforms thereto, without deviation, his conduct and manners. As for me, whose age has whitened my hair and wrinkled my forehead, and whose experience, though perhaps too slow, has ripened my reason and rectified my mind, I say with a pious bishop long since dead (Gregory of Blois), and whose tomb must have been the seal of many sorrows, "*What is religion to man, if it is a mere theory, without influence upon his conduct? Of what consequence is the theory of a free government, if it is, in practice, despotic? Of what use are the fine theories of a magistrate upon justice, if he turns the balance in favour of iniquity?*"

It would be a libel upon the intelligent and well-educated portion of the French community, to say that they are still imbued with the sceptical philosophy of the last century, or that they are indifferent, or hostile, to the substance of religion. Those who know any thing of the state of mind of enlightened persons in Paris, must be aware that a better philosophy is rapidly taking the place of the materialism of the eighteenth century, and that France is passing through a philosophical transition, which affords promise of a result highly favourable to the most important interests of her people. It is our firm belief that the day is coming when the main truths of Christianity will, in no country, be more firmly established than in France, and, what is more, that those truths will be put into practice. The public veneration for empty ceremonies and fantastic shows may have died away—the taste for polemical discussion may have grown languid—the superstitious reverence for ecclesiastical dogmas may have abated—but if all this is found to lead, not to the destruction of religion itself, but to its propagation and strengthening, and to the imbuing the hearts of the French people with the fear of God, and the love of man, the charge of irreligion against them is one which must wholly fall to the ground. Time will show how far our anticipations may be realized; but thus much is certain, that Paris in 1832 is no more the Paris of Rousseau and Voltaire, than it is the Paris of St. Louis, and that it is an unmerited imputation upon the most enlightened of the citizens of Paris, to say either that they do not respect the essential doctrines of religion, or that they do not practise the precepts of Christianity as much to the full as they are practised in our own metropolis.

ART. XV.—*Paris Malade, Esquisses du Jour,* par Eugène Roch. 8vo. Paris. 1832.

A WHIMSICAL and clever book, by a young author of considerable reputation designed to exhibit Paris under the influence of the cholera—we hardly know whether to say tempered or inflamed, perhaps the right word is—modified by the revolution of July, 1830, by the subsequent tumults

and by the existing political discontent and excitement. The work is in a dramatic form, the thwarted loves of a couple of young physicians supplying the thread upon which, though gaining little additional interest, are strung a variety of scenes, representing successively, the effects, ludicrous or serious, of the terror created by the fearful disease amongst the higher classes of Parisian society;—the atrocities produced amongst the lower and uneducated orders by the strange notion they had conceived that the cholera was a nonentity, and all the symptoms characterizing it, the result of poison administered, no human creature can imagine why, by the government, to the people;—the horrible ravages of this pestilential malady;—the liberality of the rich, and the heroic self-devotion to the loathsome service of the cholera hospitals of women of all ranks and degrees, from the high-born coquette of the brilliant salon, to those degraded beings whom it is usual now-a-days delicately, and most truly, (if somewhat affectedly in the way of generic nomenclature) to designate as unfortunate females. In the course of these scenes the exaggerated opinions of most of the various parties distracting Paris are happily illustrated; the fanaticism, both political and religious of the Carlists,—or, more properly, the *Henriquinquistes*, for none are represented as wishing the re-enthronement of the abdicated Charles X.—the extravagancies of the St. Simonians, the innumerable and contradictory absurdities of the populace, &c. &c.

The work, we need hardly state, is decidedly liberal; both the heroes are, to say the least, Freethinkers in religion, and the fervent Republicanism of one of them, Ferdinand, a medical student on the point of obtaining his *diploma*, is placed in the most favourable light; but his virulent and bitter philippics against the wealthy are blamed and corrected by his more philosophic friend, Dr. Edward; and Casimir Perrier, as the representative of the established government, is fairly portrayed, as honestly, if mistakenly, zealous for the good of France. Our English feelings have, indeed, during the perusal of these pages, been some little revolted by the pretty, mirthful pleasantry with which the young physician relates the forcible mode of his summons by the agonized wives, husbands, and children, of cholera patients, whom he either finds dead or is unable to save; but to censure this, would be to censure French nature for not being English, and we mention it merely to prepare the readers of M. Eugene Roch's curious publication for what will probably prove as disagreeable to them as it has to us, not in the exercise of our critical office.

Art. XVI.—1. *Folchetto Malaspina, Romanzo Storico del Serolo XIImo.* dell' Autore di Sibilla Odaleta. 3 Tom. 12*s*. Milan. 1830.
2. *Preziosa di Sanluri, ossia i Montanari Sardi, Romanzo Storico,* dell' Autore di Sibilla Odaleta. 3 Tom. 12mo. Milan. 1832.

These novels give us no cause to recall or regret one word of the judgment we some years since pronounced upon the author (Signor Varese). They display, with much of the improvement to be expected from a

writer early deemed so promising as to rank next to Manzoni, the same merits and the same faults as his former works. Here likewise, we have scenes painted with dramatic force, vivid portraitures of by-gone times, and considerable power of writing; and here, too, we find the great inequality, the singular infelicity in managing a story of which we before complained, together with a strange, seeming unconsciousness of the use of love in romance. Let us not, however, be misunderstood. We do not mean to say that Folchetto Malaspina and Preziosa di Sanluri are not duly and respectively in love; in love they both are when first we meet with them, and in love they remain till we take leave of them at their several bridals;—what we mean is, that for any thing much affecting the story, except upon one occasion, and certainly for any thing we are made to care about the matter, they might nearly as well be fancy free. Both stories, nevertheless, deserve notice, and we propose giving such an abstract of them as may enable the reader to understand our objection. We begin with Folchetto.

Every body knows that in the twelfth century some of the wealthy Lombard cities endeavoured to emancipate themselves from their dependence upon the German, then called the Holy Roman Empire, animated, we fear, quite as much by ambition and mutual hatred, as by a genuine love of liberty. Milan, striving to substitute her own for the Imperial yoke, was at the head of these confederated cities, of which Tortona, her faithful ally, was one of the feebler members. In and near this last town, the scene of our novel is laid, during the struggle against Frederic Barbarossa. But this insurrection against the Emperor is not the sole, scarcely the chief, object of Tortonese politics. Milan is endeavouring to subject Tortona to herself; Tortona desires to shake off, not to change her bonds; the middle and lower classes are struggling to free themselves from feudal oppression, the nobles to maintain their privileges; and Opizzone Malaspina, Signora della Lunigiana, the opulent head of that family of which our hero is an impoverished scion, is plotting the acquisition of power out of the general confusion, and employs the unsuspecting Folchetto as his instrument. Folchetto is the leader of the popular party, and is, moreover, in love with Leonilla de' Calcinara, the promised bride of Guglielmo degli Uberti, the leader of the Nobles. A proposal of Opizzone to marry Folchetto's sister, Alice, produces a scene between the brother and sister, in which the gentleman's arbitrary notions of the implicit obedience due from sisters and daughters, however consonant with the opinions of the times, do not awaken our sympathy with his own course-of-true love, thwarted, as it is, by the choice of friends. Alice having timidly declared that she cannot marry Opizzone, disappears from her father's castle; and the greater part of the first volume is dedicated to the search after her.

This search introduces us to a new—shall we say trade or profession? quite new to us, although it should seem then, and long afterwards, common in Sardinia, to wit, that of the *Accabaduri*, a name derived by our author from a corruption of the verb *accoppare*, to knock on the head. In Sardinia, it appears, the tender compassion of the young and

healthy towards the infirm, from age, accident or disease, manifested itself in effectually abridging their sufferings. But as sons, husbands, or wives, might not always relish performing this peculiar office of charity with their own hands, it became the especial business of the *Accabaduri*, who, from the repulsive character of their avocation, soon constituted a separate *caste* as well as trade. There were not, however, sick and aged people enough to support the whole race by knocking them on the head, so that the *Accabaduri* were compelled to vary their occupations, and the women employed themselves as well in mourning the dead with floods of mercenary tears, and improvisoed chaunts of praise and regret, as in fortune-telling. A woman of this class has wandered from Sardinia to the neighbourhood of Tortona, and is an important personage in our story. Thirsting for human blood, in vengeance for a son who had fallen by the hands of justice, she yet serves and saves Folchetto, in compliance with a vow she had made, when he once rescued her from impending death. By the *Accabaduri's* help, Folchetto learns that his rival in politics and in love has deluded Alice by a false marriage, and he formally challenges Guglielmo, at a banquet of the nobles, his own personal adversaries, which he visits, amidst their bacchanalian revelry, for that express purpose. We shall give a sketch of the duel scene, as one of our author's lively pictures of old manners and feelings. It must be premised, that Guglielmo is a coward as well as a profligate, and that one of his confidential dependents has undertaken to bring him off scathless from his unavoidable duel with the dreaded Malaspina.

The lists are prepared, with an altar at one end, and are surrounded by eager spectators. The judge of the combat takes his seat, mass is said, the arms of the combatants are consecrated, and the sacrament is administered to the two deadly foes. During all this time the wrathful gloom of Folchetto, and his battle-godfather, Opizzone, are contrasted to the airy undauntedness of Guglielmo, which somewhat surprises his battle-godfather, Guido Anfosso, who had entertained some misgivings touching his friend's valour. Opizzone now accuses Guglielmo, to the judge, as the betrayer of Alice; Guido rebuts the charge, and the champions severally swear to the truth of their godfathers' words, as well as to their being unaided by magic. They then arm and take their places.

"But still Guglielmo hesitated to throw down Folchetto's glove, an indispensable form. He gazed anxiously around, and only now did Guido discover in him symptoms of dismay. He was approaching to encourage him, when he suddenly saw his eye flash with its preceding brightness, as he boldly flung down the glove, exclaiming, 'Malaspina, there is thy glove.' At the same time he closed his vizor, drew his sword, and stepped two paces back, to take room. Rapid as were these movements, they were slow to Folchetto's, who scarcely saw his glove touch the ground ere he had sprung back, brandishing his sword, and stood on guard. Already were the marshals of the lists stooping to remove the interposed olive branches, and unclosing their lips to cry 'The field is open,' when, at the far end of the esplanade, appeared one who drew all eyes to himself, and stayed the encounter.

This was an old man, tall and gaunt, whose hollow cheeks bespoke the long and painful privations of his corporeal frame. He wore a ragged russet tunic, furnished with a small hood, and girt round his loins by a chain interwoven

with points. His naked foot was guarded from thorns and flints by a mere sole, fastened on with a leather strap. In his hand he bore a gilded reliquary, which, with outstretched arm, he held on high, towards the combatants. He hurried onwards, with a speed far beyond what his age and aspect promised. He shouted aloud, 'Hold, wretched youths, hold! In the name of Him who died for you on the cross, hold!' So speaking he reached the two champions, breathlessly rushed between them, and placed the reliquary upon the yet unpassed line of separation drawn by the heralds."

Even the fiery and injured Folchetto dares not resist the interposition of the hermit and his reliquary; and the lawful, the religion-sanctioned duel is per force suspended, if not altogether prevented. To obviate this last disaster, or at least its annoying results to his vengeance, Folchetto publicly insults Guglielmo in church, in presence of the clergy, with the bishop at their head, the nobles, and the people. Guglielmo, in return, attempts to surprise and murder his enemy; is foiled by the intervention of the *Accabadura*, and being dismissed unharmed by Folchetto, repents and turns hermit. His marriage had been broken off by his seemingly tame endurance of a blow, and Leonilla is shut up in the convent, where, it now appears, Alice had concealed her shame. Then follows the siege of Tortona by Frederic, and Folchetto's heroism in its defence. The town at length capitulates, the terms being inviolability to the convents, and a safe departure to the inhabitants. Upon his way home, Folchetto learns from the *Accabadura* that the convents are to be sacked, and hurries back, just in time to rescue his sister, his mistress, and his mistress's father. He marries Leonilla, and Alice takes the veil.

The other romance introduces us to a country hitherto, we believe, unexplored by the novelist, and, in truth, scarcely known to us through the more legitimate channels of the historian and the traveller—we mean the island of Sardinia. Preziosa de Sanluri is not, however, the first Sardinian novel extant, this same fertile anonymous author having, two years ago published *Il Proscritto, Storia Sarda;* which *Proscritto* we have diligently laboured to procure, in the idea that the two Sardinian Tales might conjointly merit a more regular analysis, and afford us the means of giving a somewhat methodized account of Sardinian men, women, and ways. But *Il Proscritto* does not appear to have visited England, and we will not withhold the fair sister from our reader's acquaintance, during the time it might take to fetch the brother from Milian. We shall therefore dispatch *Preziosa* as we have *Folchetto*, merely observing that the Sard mountaineers strongly resemble our own Scotch Highlanders, although in a yet ruder state.

The story is briefly this—an insurrection against the Aragonese conquerors of the island has failed; the insurgents are routed and dispersed, and the Viscount di Sanluri, one of the leaders, has been unable to carry off in his flight his daughter Preziosa. The damsel is snatched from the hands of the victorious Aragonese soldiery by another insurgent leader, Sigismondo, *Capo-tribù*, or chief of the Gocean mountaineers, and brought for safety to another mountain tribe, that of Genargento, who had remained neutral in the recent conflict, and amongst whom he there-

fore judges she may be safe. In the rescue and transportation the youthful pair have fallen in love; Sigismondo leaves Genargento to go in search of the Viscount, but gets an ague by sleeping in a swamp, and passes the greater part of the two little volumes on a mat under *accabadura* doctoring. Preziosa, foolishly enough, quits her mountain asylum for a convent; on her way to which she is taken prisoner, upon an accusation of having, by spells, killed the Aragonese Viceroy's son, whom, in fact, three *accabaduri* had amused themselves with frightening to death. It should be said that Preziosa, whose birth had cost her mother's life, whose wet nurse had died, and who bore on her arm a mark resembling a death's head, is generally esteemed an unlucky person, if nothing worse. She is tried, condemned, and sentenced to be burnt, but indulged with permission to prove her innocence through the ordeal of cold water, by leaping from a high rock into the sea. This indulgence saves her, though not exactly according to law; for Sigismondo, who has by this time recovered, contrives to leap with her, and swims with her to a boat awaiting them, under favour of a tumult which Nura, the *capo-tribù* of Genargento, excites, in avenging his son, previously shot by an Aragonese soldier. A change of kings in Aragon, and of viceroys in Sardinia, puts an end to the danger of the lovers.

We think these two short sketches may show the reader of what abundant interest both subjects were susceptible, had the author understood, like Manzoni, to make the most of his riches. But it must not be concluded from our criticism, that the tales are not worth reading. Far from it. We think them calculated to afford much gratification, especially to those who love a graphic representation of unaccustomed manners. Both abound in striking scenes, and we must now attempt to give some idea of one of the mountain scenes in Preziosa. Unluckily they are too long to extract whole, and must needs lose in compression. We take the funeral of the slaughtered heir apparent of Genargento.

The wounded youth is brought by his comrades to die at his father's door, and there breathes his last amongst his friends; and Preziosa, called from her bed by the sound of lamentation, hurries forth, and beholds the tribe assembled round the dead body.

"The unhappy father, recovering from a long stupor, had seated himself beside his son's corse, had bathed his bony finger in the curdling gore, and drawn therewith a few symbolical lines upon his dagger. These were equivalent to a solemn oath to procure the slain that consolation, in virtue of which death loses half its terrors in the eyes of those fierce and superstitious mountaineers. Revenge was to them what the honours of sepulture were to the Heathen."

The deceased was placed in a tent on the mat, which had been his bed when alive, and there watched by some of his friends and followers, during the preparations for the obsequies. Towards the evening of the third day the whole tribe, whose chief he was born to be, assembles, the men clad in black sheepskins, the women with their heads wrapped in yellow cloths, surmounted by black fillets.

"The corse was laid on a bier, outside of the paternal cottage, the face and breast exposed, the remainder of the body tightly folded in a grave cloth.

A small wooden crucifix was fixed between the hands, the fingers of which were clasped as in prayer. His bow, his dagger, and his quiver were disposed in guise of a trophy upon his knees, and were to be interred with him. Four armed men kept the crowd at a respectful distance; two others drove away the flies from the face of the corse with olive branches.

A low murmur, like the distant hum of bees, was heard on the green, before the funeral rites began. It was at once hushed into the profoundest silence at the sudden appearance of the *Preficheˌ* (the denomination of the *Accabaduri* when employed in these melancholy offices) who were hired to mourn and to celebrate the deceased. They were clothed in black stuff, their heads concealed in large hoods of the same material, under which appeared white bands, not unlike those worn by Augustinian nuns. Their faces were lank, the wrinkled skin of the colour of the box tree; in their hands they held white handkerchiefs to receive the tears it was their business to shed."

These professional mourners approach as if unsuspicious of the event on account of which they are summoned. They start on perceiving the corse, act the most violent agonies of despair, and, finally, break out into a seemingly extemporaneous dirge. The audience sympathize in all the emotions represented by the *prefiche*, and every man dips his finger in the black blood coagulated about the wound.

" A new personage, destined to play a conspicuous part in the drama, was now to appear. This was the daughter of Nura, (the bereaved *Capo-tribu*,) a girl of ten years old, upon whom, as the nearest female relation of the deceased, devolved the duty of publicly demanding vengeance. Attired in her most sumptuous apparel, her hair hanging loose, and escorted by three kinsmen, she advanced with faltering steps to dip a handkerchief in her brother's blood. But her courage failed as she extended her arm, and she would have fallen upon the corse, if her kinsmen had not supported her, and guided her hand to perform an act of duty, deemed indispensable to the repose of the deceased."

Surrounded by the weeping, sobbing, *Preficheˌ* and followed by his favourite dog, and by his sister bearing the blood-stained handkerchief, the body is now borne in procession to its allotted place of rest, beneath an ancient and wide spreading oak. The prayers of the church are chaunted, the grave is dug, the dead man, with his arms, is laid down in it by moonlight, and his dog is knocked on the head, and deposited at his feet. The grave is then filled up, the maidens strew it with herbs and flowers, and Bari, the Bard of Goceano, then residing at Genargento, as the guardian of Preziosa, pours forth an improviso strain of lamentation, far more loftily poetical than the dirge of the *Preficheˌ*

The procession now returns to the sort of esplanade, on which stands the cottage of the *Capo-tribu*, (who, be it observed, had been compelled by the duties of his station, to deny himself the sad gratification of attending his lost son to the grave,) and the last scene of the drama begins. The youthful sister, still holding the ensanguined handkerchief, knocks thrice at the closed door of the cottage.

" ' Who seeks the *Capo-tribu* at this hour?' inquired Nura from within.

" ' I,' answered the maiden, in tremulous accents; ' I, the daughter of Nura.' "

" ' And what askest thou, daughter of Nura?' resumed the father, ' of the chief of thy tribe?'

" ' Vengeance.'

" At this terrible word, a magic adjuration which no montaineer can resist without public dishonour, the door was thrown open, and Nura stood at the threshold."

The old chief is then conducted to his seat upon a rock, named the stone of justice; four armed men array themselves behind him; four others illuminate the scene with blazing pine branches.

" Unbroken silence reigned; the maiden advanced within three paces of her father's knees, flung the bloody handkerchief into his lap, and said ' this is the blood of my brother, shed by treachery; the hand of a girl is unfit to avenge him, and it is thine to procure the slain that vengeance which he merits and I cannot yield him.' Here the maiden's lip became yet more pale, and more tremulous. Bred as she was amongst fierce mountaineers, she still could not utter the remainder of the necessary formula, and fell fainting into the arms of those who surrounded her. Then the eldest of her cousins, a young man of some six and twenty, took upon himself to supply her deficiency, and, in tones suited to the tremendous adjuration, pronounced, ' the malediction of Heaven strike upon thy hoary head, and upon the heads of all who belong to thee, if the assassin of Sulpicio fall not beneath the blade of vengeance!'

" The wretched father responded ' amen!' and amen was re-echoed in chorus by all present. The torches were extinguished, Nura re-entered his cottage, his swooning daughter was carried after him, and the assembly dispersed."

Postscript to Article I. on Murat's Sketch of the United States.

After this article had gone to press, the news arrived of the dispute between a portion of the inhabitants of the State of Carolina, and the general government of the Union. This has served to fill the mouths of many idle people with matter for wonderment, which may probably last an extra nine days above the ordinary amount. The best account of the matter is that which appeared in "*The Times*," and in which we recognize the hand of an able opponent of the Tariff. Whoever has carefully perused that letter must have been satisfied that no real ground for serious alarm existed. The truth is, that the Tariff was at the very outset a most absurd piece of legislation, no better to be described than by the old adage, "cutting off the nose to be revenged on the face." The argument of the American legislators, based upon a relic of the ancient antipathy, was,—" as England behaves ill to us by refusing to take our corn, we will behave worse to ourselves by refusing to take their manufactures." There was no partial American interest to gratify at the time. The law was passed in pique and in sheer ignorance. The consequences were what might have been foreseen. Capital was taken from agriculture and other things in which it was profitably employed, and forced into manufactures, which appeared to offer a larger rate of profit. The profits of a small portion of the nation were thus artificially increased at the cost of the majority, and a vested

interest in a monstrous abuse was established. Time brought the revulsion. Those who were not interested in the gain, could not see the advantage of using inferior commodities and paying a higher price for them; and, as prejudice began to wear away, murmurs arose, which grew louder and hoarser as they proceeded. In the human body, issues are determined towards the weakest and most irritable parts. Even thus is it in the body politic. The Carolina slave-holders are the aristocracy of the Union, lacking judgment and abounding in

> " Valour, like light straw in flame,
> " A fierce but fading fire."

Not well weighing the matter in question—not seeing that by enlightening the people on the subject, the abuse would be peaceably put down—several of the leaders, animated by personal pique and something of ambition, with only half of the state on their side, and that half more verbal than real,—for the dog that means mischief never barks—tried the matter by the laws of duelling, and resolved to "call out" the Union. The answer of the President, calm and temperate, yet earnest and decisive, is a document worthy of a great nation, and must produce its effect. The Carolinians have calculated on the fact that their opponent, the government, possesses only 6,000 troops wherewith to put them down, forgetting that the citizens at large are interested in maintaining good order. As surely as the riotous mob at Boston, some few months back, was put down by the armed citizens, so surely will the Carolinians be promptly quelled by the people of the Union, if indeed the fiery leaders can muster any number for the actual work of " stroke and flash." Blood may be shed, perchance, but scarcely in a regular battle. The whole conduct of the rebellious state may be compared with the vapouring of the white inhabitants of the West India islands, in bidding defiance to Great Britain. Were Congress to confiscate the property of the rebels, and declare their slaves free, what would be their condition? In their own dwellings, on their own estates, there would be found the means of crushing them, if necessary. In Andrew Jackson they have no child to deal with, and the nation is at his back.

The whole matter is an example of the evils which may result to a nation from ignorant lawgivers, even when those lawgivers are honest. The Tariff was enacted, has produced evil, and that evil ought to be borne jointly by all the states. The cheapest mode of settling the matter would be at once to abolish the Tariff, and, after estimating the loss this would occasion to the manufacturers, to divide it amongst the whole nation. This will not be done, on account of the difficulties which would present themselves in details and individual dishonesty. A gradual modification, and eventual extinction of the Tariff, will therefore probably take place, and the capital employed in manufactures will by degrees be otherwise absorbed, when the only real cause of dispute will be removed from the Union, always excepting the slaves—the miserable, the unfortunate slaves—who cause even more injury to the whites, than the whites inflict upon them.

MISCELLANEOUS LITERARY NOTICES.

No. XXI.

DENMARK.

NECROLOGY.—ERASMUS RASK. This eminent scholar and linguist, whose merits and literary labours have been occasionally commemorated in the former numbers of this Journal, was born at Brendekild, in the island of Fyen, in the year 1784. He studied at the University of Copenhagen, and early distinguished himself by his singular faculty for the acquisition of languages. In 1808 he was appointed sub-librarian to the University, and some years after Professor of Literary History. In 1811 he published (in Danish,) his *Introduction to the Grammar of the Icelandic and other ancient Northern Languages*, the materials for which were entirely derived from the immense mass of manuscript and printed works accumulated by his predecessors in the same field. This grammar appears to have given a fresh impulse to those studies even in Germany. The reputation which he acquired by it recommended him to the Arna-Magnæan Institution, by whom he was employed to edit the *Icelandic Lexicon of* Biorne Haldorsen, which had long remained in manuscript. To this work, published in 1814, a preface was prefixed by Bishop Müller, in which he passes a just eulogium on the talents and spirit of research of the youthful editor. About the same time, Rask, who had never been in Iceland, paid a visit to that country, where he remained from 1813 to 1815, during which he made himself fully master of the language, which he spoke with the fluency of a native, and familiarized himself with the literature, manners, and customs of the people. To the interest with which they inspired him was probably owing the establishment, early in 1816, of the Icelandic Library Society at Copenhagen, which was mainly effected by his exertions, and of which he was the first President. In October, 1816, he left Denmark on a literary expedition of several years duration, for the double purpose of prosecuting his inquiries into the languages of the East, and of collecting manuscripts for the University Library of Copenhagen. The King of Denmark liberally provided him with the means. He proceeded first to Sweden, where he remained two years, making an excursion to Finland, during which he published (in Swedish,) his *Anglo-Saxon Grammar* in 1817; in the same year, at Copenhagen, (in Danish,) an *Essay on the Origin of the Ancient Scandinavian or Icelandic tongues*, in which he traces the affinity of that most remarkable idiom to the other European languages, especially to the Latin and Greek. In 1818, he published, at Stockholm, a second edition, much improved, of his *Icelandic Grammar*, translated by himself into Swedish; also in the same year the first complete editions of the *prose* or Snorro's *Edda*, and of the *poetical* or Sæmund's *Edda*, in the original text, in two volumes, in the latter of which he was assisted by his friend the Reverend Mr. Afzelius, along with Swedish translations of both Eddas in two other volumes. From Stockholm he proceeded, in 1819, to St. Petersburgh, where he wrote an interesting paper in German *on the Languages and Literature of Norway, Iceland, Sweden, and Finland*, which was published in the sixth number of the Vienna *Jahrbucher*. From Russia he proceeded through Tartary into Persia, and resided for some time at Tauris, Teheran, Persepolis, and Schiraz. It is an instance of his remarkable facility for acquiring languages, that in six weeks time he was sufficiently master of Persian to be able to converse fluently with the natives. In 1820 he embarked at Abuschekr, in the Persian Gulf, for Bombay, during his residence in which he wrote (in English,) a *Dissertation on the Authenticity and Antiquity of the Zend Language*, addressed in the epistolary form to the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, the governor, which was published in the Third Volume of the "Transac-

tions of the Literary Society of Bombay." And it is probably this Dissertation, with corrections and additions, which we have understood is to appear in the ensuing Volume of the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*. From India his next stage was to Ceylon in 1822, where also he wrote (in English,) a *Dissertation on the best Method of expressing the Sounds of the Indian Languages in European characters*, which was printed in the "Transactions of the Literary and Agricultural Society of Colombo." Professor Rask arrived at Copenhagen in the beginning of May, 1823, after an absence of nearly seven years. He brought home with him a considerable collection of rare and curious oriental manuscripts, ancient Persian, Zend, Pali, Cingalese, &c. &c. and which now enrich the University and Royal Libraries of the Danish capital.

Since his return home, Professor Rask has published the following works in his native language:—*a Spanish Grammar*, (1824,) an *Italian Grammar*, a *Frisic Grammar*,* (1825,) a *Treatise on the Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, (1827,) on the *Ancient Jewish Chronology previous to Moses*, (1828,) *Essay on Danish Orthography*, (1828.) He also edited a new edition of Schneider's *Danish Grammar for Englishmen*, (1829,) and superintended the English translation of his *Anglo-Saxon Grammar*, (1830.) See p. 227, *ante*.

He had also been long engaged in the compilation of an Etymological Dictionary of the Danish language, in which he proposed to exhibit the important illustration which that and the collateral tongues of Europe may derive from a comparison with those of Asia. We have not heard in what state of forwardness he has left it.

In a former number of this Journal, with reference to Professor Rask's labours in the field of Icelandic literature, we took occasion to pay a just tribute of respect and admiration to his extraordinary and multifarious acquirements. We think we cannot do better than now repeat a portion of what was so well said by our eloquent contributor.

"No man ever existed whose study of language has been directed to a wider circle, and assuredly none who has made the structure of language so much the object of attention. He is the consummate comparative anatomist of philology, not building up his theories from the scattered fragments, gathered, as it were, by accident, but drawing his deductions from the most profound and elaborate research; and by comparison, comprehension, and exhaustion, throwing day-light on all those curious inquiries which have, for the most part, been feebly and ignorantly dealt with by the majority of critics. Not that Rask's writings have hitherto enabled the world to form any accurate estimate of his extraordinary learning. To have written the best Icelandic or Anglo-Saxon Grammar, to have tracked through Hebrew or hieroglyphic records the chronology of Egyptian kings, to have edited Eddas or Sagas, and have carried off prizes for Essays on this or the other limited inquiry—this—these—are little—are nothing, compared to what he is capable of effecting. He is one of the very few men who can write on philology, having some sufficient acquaintance with the subject in its various bearings, who has seen with his own eyes, heard with his own ears, the tribes, the tongues, which cover the world's surface; who, if he has not girdled the whole earth, has at least explored those tracts in which so many nations were cradled; and who, travelling through all the East in the pursuit of philological knowledge, took with him him a mind so trained, and exercised, and cultured, that nothing could be wasted upon it."

* See Foreign Quarterly Review, vol. iii. p. 607. In the Second Number of the *Foreign Review* there is an account of his Grammars, and in the 10th Number an article on Grimm's Teutonic Grammar and a work on the Danish Language, which we have reason to think were drawn up from his communications. In the Third Number of the same journal is a letter from him, signed DANUS, containing remarks on some papers in a MS. of the *Archæologia*.

In private life the character of Rask was such as to command admiration and respect. His manners were mild and gentle, though retiring, and his morals unimpeachable. His mode of living was simple in the extreme, his temperance that of a Sybarite. The habits of study and application which he had acquired in early life were never thrown aside. In company he was diffident, and expressed himself with modesty; and when the subject involved any thing relative to his own history, sentiments, or pursuits, with an unwillingness almost amounting to morbid sensibility, which seemed to grow upon him with years. His facility in the acquisition of languages was extraordinary; he appeared to gain a knowledge of them almost intuitively, and his mind seemed to recollect rather than to learn. In 1822 he was master of no less than twenty-five languages and dialects. His knowledge of English was extensive and correct; he wrote and spoke it with such fluency and accuracy that every Englishman to whom he was introduced asked him how long he had been in England, considering, but erroneously, that such an acquaintance with the language could be gained only by a residence in our island. In personal appearance Rask was thin and spare, but well made; his habits of temperance, regularity, and exercise, had contributed to give him all the appearance of a very healthy man, and warranted the belief that he would live many years. He was capable of enduring much fatigue, and the privation of necessary rest; changes of climate seemed to produce no impression upon his feelings or his constitution, and the scorching sun of India, and the frosts of Iceland were alike disregarded. But with all this apparent superiority to the weakness of our frame, he fell a victim to consumption, brought on, as it is believed, by those habits of intense application, and abstinence from proper nutriment, to which we have already alluded, and died at that period of life when the faculties of the human mind have little more than attained their maturity, leaving behind him a name which will not soon be forgotten.

FRANCE.

M. Douville. The readers of the *Foreign Quarterly Review* will probably think that they have had enough of this author and his pretended travels in the interior of Africa. We take some credit to ourselves for being the first to detect and expose this audacious and barefaced forgery; our proofs were entirely deduced from the internal evidence of M. Douville's own work, without the slightest knowledge of his personal history: to our own minds these were irrefragable, and we have reason to believe that they have carried conviction to the majority of our readers. For the sake of those who still hesitate in crediting the possibility of so gross a fraud being attempted under such auspices, we have thought it right to give a translation of an article, which appeared in the November number of a clever Paris journal, the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. The details there given respecting the *real* history of this extraordinary traveller will be sufficient to set all doubts upon the subject at rest. The writer of it subscribes his name at length—*Théodore Lacordaire*.

"It is not without a feeling of pain that we pass from the noble and loyal labours of the *Astrolabe** to those of a man whose name is destined, no doubt, to celebrity, but of a very different kind to that which he at present enjoys. We speak of M. Douville, and his pretended Travels to Congo. The extraordinary success which this work has obtained in France would be still in all its lustre, if a foreign review, the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, (No. XIX. August, 1832, pages 163—206), in an article partly re-produced in

* The *Voyage round the World in the Astrolabe*, by Captain Dumont d'AUrille reviewed in the previous part of the same article.

Le Temps, had not come to tear from the author's brows the crown which had been placed on them. Justice has, therefore, been done; but it has been only half-done; and not by the hand which ought to have administered it. The first accusing voice ought to have been raised in France, or rather was it not the duty of the learned bodies to whose approbation M. Douville submitted his labours, to put us on our guard against this mystification, which had been long in preparation, and was brought forward with an audacity of which there are few examples? One of these bodies, the *Société de Géographie*, not satisfied with simple approbation, has loaded the author with its favours; the other, the Institute, to which M. Douville submitted the objects which he pretended to have collected in Africa, recognized them to be American, and yet thought proper to be silent on a fact so important. We can, however, perfectly conceive the sentiment of disgust which has induced the honourable members of the latter body to be thus silent; and the respect which we bear to them forbids us from all further remark. But as to the *Société de Géographie*, in spite of the personal respectability of each of its members, it must allow us to approve the severe reproaches addressed to it by the *Foreign Quarterly Review;* it must settle them as well it can with the author of the article. That which the latter has begun, we shall here endeavour to finish, by giving such particulars of M. Douville himself, who has been long known to us, as may serve to correct the biographical notice of him published in the *Constitutionnel*. At a time when the communications between all parts of the world are so multiplied, how could M. Douville venture to hope that the facts which the reader is now to be informed of, could remain concealed? This is quite as incomprehensible as the errors with which his Travels abound.

"I was at Buenos Ayres in 1826 and 1827, at the period when the harbour of that city was blockaded by the Brazilian squadron, which prevented all communication by sea. About the middle of December, 1826, an enemy's ship of war was seen all of a sudden one morning steering direct towards the port, with a flag of truce hoisted. A report was immediately spread that this vessel was the bearer of propositions of peace; but the next day the journals announced that it had only come for the purpose of landing M. Douville, a naturalist sent out by the French government to explore the interior of South America. M. Douville was received by his countrymen with the attention to which the mission with which he was believed to be intrusted, entitled him; and a few days after his arrival, Don Ramon Larrea, one of the principal merchants of the place, to whom he brought a letter of introduction, gave a grand entertainment in honour to him, to which twenty persons were invited, of whom I was one. I sat next to M. Douville at table. During the whole of the entertainment, he preserved a modest silence, rarely to be met with in travellers, and returned only evasive and polite replies to the various questions put to him by the guests.

"Several Frenchmen sought the acquaintance of M. Douville, and received from him a number of vague details relative to his preceding voyages. It was quite wonderful the number and extent of the countries that this traveller had already gone through; nearly the whole of Europe, the Cape of Good Hope, India, Persia, South America, had been alternately the theatre of his explorations. He had even penetrated, by land, from the River of Amazons to the south of the Pampas of Buenos Ayres, where he had lived among the wild Indians who inhabit that district; but owing to a particular circumstance, he had never visited that city, notwithstanding the trifling distance which separated him from it during the course of this prodigious journey. No person acquainted with the country had ever heard of it, although M. Douville spoke of it as having taken place not long before.

One evening that he was talking of it at the house of M. Roberge, a druggist, where the better sort of Frenchmen settled at Buenos Ayres were in the habit of meeting, he was requested to mark upon a sheet of paper the principal points of the Argentine Republic, through which he must necessarily have passed. He attempted to do so; but, unluckily, he placed to the west what should have been to the east; to the north, what should have been to the south, and so on; blunders which appeared singular to be committed by a naturalist and a geographer. As for myself, I had received a visit some time before this from M. Douville, who was introduced to me by M. Dutilleul, formerly paymaster of the army in Spain, who has since settled at Buenos Ayres. His travels were naturally the subject of conversation; and he told me that he had gone over the track of M. de Humboldt, from the Oronoco to the River of Amazons. His memory stood him in bad stead; the names of Aturès, Maypurès, Cassiquiare, &c., familiar to every one who has read the travels of M. de Humboldt, seemed to be quite unknown to him; and I was frequently obliged, in the course of conversation, to put an end to his hesitation by pronouncing the names myself.

"Shortly afterwards, several Frenchmen who came from Montevideo by land, brought us some additional information about M. Douville. From them we learned that he had arrived there about the middle of October, on board the *Jules*, Captain Decombe, which had sailed from Havre on the 7th of August, 1826. His conduct, during the passage, had been any thing but satisfactory; he was constantly complaining of the shabby way in which a man like him, who had been accustomed to sail in ships of war, was treated; and he was especially angry with the captain for having put into the hold, along with the other ship's cargo, a case which contained his instruments, the want of which, he said, prevented him from making astronomical observations. On their arrival at Montevideo, the passengers' luggage was examined at the Custom-house as usual: the precious case was opened; and, instead of instruments, was found to contain a porcelain tray, a good deal the worse for wear, and several other articles of the same kind. M. Douville took up his quarters at the *Fonda de las Cuatro Naciones* (Hotel of the Four Nations), kept by a Frenchman of the name of Himonnet. This last, a good enough person at bottom, but rather rough in his manners, took it into his head one day that his guest was preparing to quit his house rather abruptly, and carried his *impolitesse* so far as to detain him in close confinement; but M. Cavaillon, French consul at Montevideo, succeeded in convincing him of his mistake. It was just after this affair that our traveller addressed a letter, in the name of the sciences, to Pinto Guedez, the Brazilian admiral, soliciting the favour of a passage on board a ship of war to Buenos Ayres, which the admiral immediately granted him.

"It is hardly necessary to state the impression which this information produced on public opinion at Buenos Ayres. M. Douville, at first, appeared to be employed in some scientific researches,* but soon abandoned them for a more profitable occupation. He hired a small shop, situated in the Cathedral Street, No. 129, which he quitted shortly after for another in the Calle de la Piedad, No. 91; and there, under the firm of *Douville and Laboissière*, he sold books, paper, perfumery, crackers, and other articles of the same kind. The name of Laboissière was that of a female of rather ordinary appearance,

* Among other interesting discoveries, M. Douville fancied one day that he had found lime-stone, a substance which is altogether wanting in the environs of Buenos Ayres, where its place is supplied by shells, which abound in many places. The specimen of this supposed calcareous substance, which he carried in triumph to Don Ramon Larrea, at whose house I saw it, was nothing but a piece of hardened clay, common in the country, where it is known by the name of *tosca* (sandstone.)

and of an age approaching to maturity, who was M. Douville's companion; it was she who generally kept the shop, her partner occupying himself more particularly with the out-door business, and that of a lithographic press which he had established.

"I am here obliged to quit M. Douville for a moment, and make a digression relative to a circumstance which happened during his residence at Buenos Ayres. In the first week of June, 1827, a person was arrested and put in prison, accused of having forged the notes of the National Bank for one and two reals. Don Ramon Larrea (of whom mention has been already made) having sent to the person in question to receive the amount of a bill of exchange, the clerk received in payment a quantity of these notes, which were evidently forged; a complaint was lodged by this merchant, and the police did its duty. The accused person was not silent in his confinement, and published in the *Echo Français* (a French newspaper at that time published in Buenos Ayres) a letter, in which he complained of his arrest, and of the horrible manner in which he was treated in his cell: according to his account, he was denied the commonest necessaries, even hot-water for shaving, to obtain which, he said, he had no other means than to heat it in a bottle, placed between his thighs, in bed; besides this, the sun's rays incommoded him during certain hours of the day, and his sight, which had been weakened by the observation of an eclipse of the sun which he had formerly made in Sicily, was unable to support the glare, &c.

"These complaints gave rise to rather a warm controversy between the journals; the *Gaçeta Mercantil*, an opposition paper, published two violent articles upon the subject against the government, to which the semi-official journal, the *Cronica politica y literaria de Buenos Ayres*, in its number of the 19th of June, published a reply, from which I translate the following passage:

"'The crime of which M. ——— is accused, attacks the prerogatives of 'the government and the interests of society. At all times, the forgery of 'bank notes has incurred the severity of justice. We hope that M. ——— 'will prove his innocence. But is there not some exaggeration in the frightful picture he has exhibited to the public? ought we to give credit to the 'charges which he makes against the head of the police? After reading the two articles in the *Gaçeta Mercantil*, we said to ourselves—what interest can 'any one have in subjecting to such privations a person who has been left at 'liberty to complain? would a cup of tea be refused to the man who can 'communicate to a journalist the sufferings which he has endured? &c.'

"On the 27th of August, 1827, I quitted Buenos Ayres for Brazil, and arrived at Rio Janeiro on the 20th of September. A few days afterwards I set out for the interior, and did not return to Rio till the beginning of March, 1828. There I once more found M. Douville, carrying on the same business as he did at Buenos Ayres, in a shop which was kept by Madame Laboissière, dressed in male attire, to the great scandal of the Brazilians, but who did not, on that account, cease to frequent it. From that time I lost sight of M. Douville personally, and not wishing to state any thing of which I was not myself an eye-witness, I shall suppress some details which have recently come to my knowledge.

"Some years elapsed. I thought no more of M. Douville, when, on my return to Paris at the beginning of June last, after a long absence in the colonies, the first book that fell into my hands was the *Voyage to Congo*. The name of the author was ringing in all the journals, which were vieing with each other in giving extracts from his book. The *Société de Géographie*, besides awarding him its prize and a medal, had appointed him its Secretary; several audiences in the highest quarter had been granted to him; in short, there was a complete concert of praises, which no critic ventured to disturb.

The name of Douville struck me; could this be the same man whom I had known five years before at Buenos Ayres, and in Brazil? I communicated my suspicions to several well known persons who had seen him, and to them I described him before I had myself ascertained his identity. The portrait which I gave of his person was admitted to be exact, and all doubt upon the subject was, in my own mind, at an end. However, I was still hesitating whether to follow up the matter or not, when the *Constitutionnel* of the 16th of September last published a biographical notice of M. Douville, filled with details so extraordinary, to say nothing more, that, in order to put an end to a mystification carried to such a height of impudence on one side, and of credulity on the other, I determined to raise my voice. I saw M. Douville, and at the first glance it was impossible for me to mistake him; years had made no change in his appearance; the sun of Africa has not added a single tint to his pale countenance. When I informed him that I was at Rio Janeiro at the same time that he was, his eyes became confused, as if he saw the sword of public opinion hanging over his head. If my single testimony is not considered sufficient to prove his identity, there are now at Paris several persons who knew M. Douville at Buenos Ayres, whom I will undertake to produce.

"What shall I say now of the Voyage to Congo? The *Foreign Quarterly Review* has already proved that the dates mentioned in the course of the work are irreconcileable with each other. We shall immediately see that the very first, that of the author's first arrival in Congo, is equally false.

"'Hardly rested from the fatigues of my preceding travels in various parts of the world, I left Paris on the 1st of August, 1826, and embarked at Havre on the 6th of the same month, with the intention of proceeding to the eastern peninsula of India, and afterwards, if possible, of penetrating into China.'

"I shall not press M. Douville as to his preceding travels, and admit that the date of his departure from Havre is correct; only he should have told us, as I have done, the name of the vessel and the captain: in matters of this kind, such information never does any harm.

"'When I arrived at Montevideo, where I expected to find a vessel proceeding to India, circumstances made me give up this plan. I took my passage on board a vessel bound for Rio Janeiro, where I arrived at the beginning of 1827.'

"I again pass over the strange idea of a man going to Montevideo in search of a vessel bound to India, whilst both in the ports of France and England ships are constantly to be found, proceeding direct to that destination. The circumstances of M. Douville's residence at Montevideo are equally well known. As to his departure for Rio Janeiro, and the stay he made there up to the 15th of October, 1827, the day of his embarkation for Benguela, (Vol. 1. p. 5.), I am in a condition to prove that he was at Buenos Ayres during the whole of that time. I have now before me journals of that city containing advertisements of *Douville and Laboissière* from the month of March up to the middle of June. If M. Douville pretends that he and the partner of Madame Laboissière are not the same, I have already offered to prove that fact by witnesses. I shall afterwards beg him to explain by what singular chance it happens, that the name of Laboissière is mentioned in the epitaph, which he inscribed on the tomb of his wife, who died, as he says, on the 10th of July, 1828, at Megna Candouri, and which is in these words: *Douville à son épouse, née Anne-Athalie Pilaut Laboissière.* (Vol. 2. p. 44.)

"It is equally clear that M. Douville could not be at Congo in March, 1828, when I saw him, at that very time, at Rio Janeiro, a fact which I again repeat. As I have already mentioned, he kept a shop there, and advertisements of his may be seen in the Brazilian newspapers of the day. I have not

been able to procure any of these papers at Paris, on account of their extreme rarity, and their old date; but I perfectly remember the fact, and request such persons as have access to these papers, to be good enough to verify it. I recommend them particularly to look at the *Diario Fluminense*.

"Sifted as his dates have been, what becomes of the whole work; and are we not justified in regarding it as a wanton and bungling invention, from beginning to end? In that case, there is but one difficulty to be got over. If M. Douville was not in Congo, whence did he derive the information which he gives about the country, and the maps which accompany his voyage. Here, I confess, I am reduced to mere conjectures, but which, to my mind, have all the force of certainties. At Rio Janeiro there are a great number of persons who have been in Congo, and a multitude of documents on the Portuguese possessions in Africa, which were partly brought thither from Lisbon, when King John VI. quitted Portugal, and established his court in Brazil. These documents are deposited in the public archives, and it is almost impossible, I admit, to procure copies of them: but there is no longer the same impossibility with regard to works in the hands of private individuals. Is it not probable, therefore, that M. Douville has, by some means, been enabled to procure some manuscript accompanied with maps, which he has converted to his own purposes? and if I admit that he really was in Congo, without proceeding into the interior of the country, was it not more easy for him there, even than in Brazil, to obtain information in writing, or by word of mouth, from the Portuguese slave traders?

"This last conjecture appears to me by far the most probable, for I think I can distinguish here and there, amidst the fictions of the work, passages which indicate a person who has been upon the spot. I will therefore concede this much to M. Douville—that he has really set foot in Africa, but not an atom more. In fact, it is only necessary to read the book, to be satisfied that the author almost every where describes countries which he never saw, and relates events which never happened. First of all, what are these caravans, or rather these armies, which he had in pay, and with whose assistance he cuts in pieces hostile armies, burns villages, makes prisoners of their chiefs, and a hundred other feats of the same kind? I would only remind him, that at the period he pretends to have undertaken his expedition, he had not at his disposal, I will not say the 150,000 francs which he asserts to have expended in it, but—the fiftieth part of that sum.* Moreover, it is impossible to avoid remarking the enormous disproportion that events bordering on fiction bear to the scientific observations which the author is constantly telling us he made, but are only to be found here and there. Disputes with the negroes, thefts of rum, conversations between the chiefs, manners, customs, battles, all these are described with the most tiresome prolixity. The rest, on the contrary, and which ought to have been the principal, is so dry and meagre, that the whole might be compressed into a few pages, and I venture to affirm, that in no book of the same extent would be found such a mass of silliness and absurdities. Here is evidently a man wishing to speak the language of science, who has not even made himself master of the letters of its alphabet, who stammers at their pronunciation, and who is incessantly turning himself round in a narrow circle of expressions of which he knows not the meaning. To be convinced of the author's profound ignorance, it is only sufficient to examine his labours in all the branches of natural history. I say *all*, for M. Douville has actually no less pretensions than to be, like M. de Humboldt, a universal man."

* "M. Douville says 150,000 franks; but if we calculate the expenditure according to his mode of travelling, we shall find, with the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, that it must have amounted to nearly 400,000 franks. This is one of the smallest contradictions of the work."

The writer then goes on to point out some of these blunders and absurdities; a task which we have already performed at so much greater length, as to render it unnecessary for us to repeat what is here said. The following are the concluding remarks of the French critic:—

"The book falls from my hand when I reflect that a man has been bold enough to print such things at the present day, and to submit them to the approbation of learned Societies. I should weary the reader's patience, were I to continue quoting passages of a kind similar to those which I have already given; they are therefore sufficient. It is needless for me to say, that no motive of personal interest has induced me to reveal the facts I have here stated; M. Douville has never personally given me the slightest cause of complaint; but for the honour of France, for the honour of the learned body which would finally become an object of derision if its error was further prolonged, it is absolutely necessary that this unheard of mystification should have an end; it has already lasted too long—and is it not even a deplorable thing, that it should have ever happened? Let M. Douville then reply to the accusation which I have preferred against him; but let him reply in the same tone which I have adopted towards him—without violence, without incoherence, by precise dates and facts. I am in a condition to maintain the combat; and if he interrogates his recollection, he will find that I have not exhausted the subject. If he will take my advice, he will act discreetly in throwing off the character which he has usurped, and preserving a prudent silence."

To these last words the following note is appended:—"This article should have appeared in the number for the 15th of October last; but circumstances, independent of the wish of the Editor and myself, have retarded its publication till now. In the interval, M. Douville has brought out a short pamphlet of a few pages, entitled *Ma Defense*, &c. of which he has addressed two copies to the *Revue*, accompanied with a letter, requesting its insertion, and saying that *the national honour required this publicity*."

"I have read with attention M. Douville's *Defence*, and shall not waste my time in discussing it. His answers are no answers, but a mere succession of vicious circles, of begging the question, of assertions which he gives as proofs, and which, of themselves, would require proofs. Besides, the question has altogether changed faces. It is no longer his work, but his moral character, and, as a sequel, the confidence which his narrative deserves, that M. Douville must defend. Let him prove that in the course of the year 1827 he was at Rio Janeiro, and not at Buenos Ayres, and in March, 1828, in Congo, and not in Brazil; let his proofs be as positive as mine; let him oppose dates to dates, facts to facts, newspapers to newspapers, witnesses to witnesses; and after he has done all that, there will not be one error the less in his work.

"I will only add a single word as to the proposition which M. Douville has made to the government to undertake a second journey into Africa. There are two methods of getting one's self out of a scrape, in which one has got imprudently involved; the first, and the most vulgar, is to beat a retreat, keeping up appearances as well as one can; the other is to put a bold face on the matter, and march forward, regardless of the wounds one has received in the fight. I leave it to the public to decide, whether the last is the best plan, and if M. Douville has done right to adopt it."

In the number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* immediately following this, M. Lacordaire has published the *Pièces justificatives* of this narrative; but owing to some mistake, that number has never reached us, although we have received the two subsequent ones for December.

To complete the history of this extraordinary imposture, we have only to add, that according to the information we have received, M. Douville left Paris almost immediately after the publication of his *Defence*, (of which we gave an account in our last Number), with the avowed intention of coming to this country, to

clear up his character. In England, however, he has not ventured again to show his face, and the catastrophe may now, we believe, be fairly described in one memorable line—

"Away he ran, and ne'er was heard of more!"

NECROLOGY.—JEAN BAPTISTE SAY, the celebrated Political Economist. M. Say was born in 1767 at Lyons, where his father was a respectable merchant, who afterwards removed to Paris about the commencement of the revolution. He himself was educated for commercial pursuits, and was in business for some time, but soon relinquished it, with a view to devote himself entirely to literary labours. He made his debut as a poet in the *Almanach des Muses*. Shortly after, he was engaged by Mirabeau as one of his collaborateurs in the *Courier de Province;* subsequently he became secretary to Clavière, the minister of finance. At the most stormy period of the revolution, when men's minds were entirely engaged with the events of the day, he attempted to recall the public attention to matters of pure speculation, and with that view established, in conjunction with Chamfort and Ginguené, a periodical work under the title of *Decade philosophique, litteraire, et politique*. He was very soon, however, deprived of his two associates by the revolutionary persecutions, but was joined by several others, such as Andrieux, Amaury-Duval, &c. with whom he continued this journal, which was undoubtedly one of the most remarkable literary productions of that period. The part which M. Say took in it began to draw the public attention towards him; and when Bonaparte was about to depart for Egypt, he employed M. Say to collect all the works which the nature of that expedition was likely to render necessary to him. This contact with the future head of the state procured his nomination to be a member of the Tribunate, on the first formation of that body. He did not at all distinguish himself in this assembly, and he has since accounted for the silence which he then maintained by the consciousness of his total want of power to oppose effectually the developement of a political system which he condemned. He did not on that account give up the idea of serving the public interests, but had recourse to another channel than the tribune. "Enouncing my ideas," he says, "in the shape of general formulæ, I gave currency to truths which might be useful at all times and in all countries." It was then that he began the composition of his "Treatise on Political Economy, or a Plain Exposition of the Formation, the Distribution, and Consumption of Wealth," the first edition of which appeared in 1802, and signalized his entrance into the career of political economy, on his labours in which his reputation has been entirely founded. Having refused to sanction by his vote the creation of the empire, he was excluded from the tribunate, but appointed shortly after to be receiver of the *droits reunis* (assessed taxes) for the department of the Allier, a place which he very soon resigned, from a scruple of conscience, "being unwilling," he says, "to assist in impoverishing his country." He then established a manufactory, in which it appears he was not successful. But he was not induced by this failure to resume the career of public employments, and his subsequent life was entirely devoted to science. His *Treatise on Political Economy* is the most important of his works, and that which has contributed to make his name known throughout Europe. At the time when it first appeared, very few persons in France or in any other part of the continent cultivated economical knowledge. Although Adam Smith's work had been translated, it was little read or comprehended, and the labours of his predecessor Quesnay, and the first economists, were almost entirely forgotten. There were even strong prejudices against the study among the leading men of France, headed by Bonaparte himself, whose policy it was to proscribe all intellectual labours not immediately connected with mathematical science, as mere reveries, and their cultivators as *idéologues*,

a term in his vocabulary synonymous with *dreamer*. M. Say's work produced an entire change in public opinion. Its merits are thus briefly and forcibly characterized by one of the most distinguished of our own economists. "The *Traité d'Economie Politique* of M. Say would deserve to be respectfully mentioned in a sketch of the progress of political economy, were it for nothing else than the effect that his well digested and luminous exposition of the principles of Dr. Smith has had in accelerating the progress of the science on the continent. But in addition to the great and unquestionable merit that it possesses, from its clear and logical arrangement, and the felicity of many of its illustrations, "it is enriched with several accurate, original, and profound discussions."* Of these, the explanation of the real nature and causes of *gluts* is decidedly the most important and valuable."†

Besides five editions of the original, enlarged and improved in each, it has been translated into almost all the languages of Europe. The following are the titles of M. Say's other works:—1. *Olbie*, an Essai sur les Moyens de reformer les Mœurs d'une Nation, 1800. 2. De l'Angleterre et les Anglais, 1815. 3. Catechisme d'Economie Politique, 1815, 5th edition, 1826. 4. Petit Volume, contenant quelques aperçus des Hommes et de la Société, 1817. 5. Lettres à Malthus sur differens sujets d'Economie Politique. 6. Cours complet d'Economie Politique pratique, 6 vols. 1829, &c.; besides a variety of articles in the *Decade Philosophique*, *Revue Encyclopedique*, &c. He also contributed notes to a republication of Storch's *Course of Political Economy* at Paris, and to a translation of Ricardo's *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*. He died in the middle of November last, aged 67.

We cannot close this notice more appropriately than by quoting some sentences from a tribute to his memory which appeared in the *Examiner* newspaper: coming from the pen of one who had the best means of knowing and appreciating his character, we value the testimony accordingly.

"M. Say was one of the most accomplished minds of his age and country. Though he had given his chief attention to one particular aspect of human affairs, all their aspects were interesting to him, not one was excluded from his survey. His private life was a model of the domestic virtues. From the time when with Chamfort and Ginguené he founded the *Decade Philosophique*, the first work which attempted to revive literary and scientific pursuits during the storms of the French Revolution—alike when courted by Napoleon and when persecuted by him, (he was expelled from the Tribunat for presuming to have an independent opinion); unchanged equally during the sixteen years of the Bourbons and the two of Louis-Philippe—he passed unsullied through all the trials and temptations which have left a stain on every man of feeble virtue among his conspicuous contemporaries. He kept aloof from public life, but was the friend and trusted adviser of some of its brightest ornaments; and few have contributed more, though in a private station, to keep alive in the hearts and in the contemplation of men a lofty standard of public virtue."

A French translation of Mr. M'Culloch's *Commercial Dictionary* is announced as in preparation. In Germany and Italy we have understood it is to receive the same honours. Certainly no book better deserves them, whether we consider the immense body of useful practical information which the author has there brought together, or the liberal and enlightened spirit which pervades every part of it. Its diffusion throughout Europe will tend more to dissipate the

---

* Preface to Ricardo's *Principles of Political Economy*.

† M'Culloch's *Discourse on the Rise, Progress, &c. of Political Economy*.

delusions and prejudices to which both governments and masses of individuals still cling in matters of commerce, and enlighten them as to their real interests, than any theoretical work that has yet appeared.

All poetical antiquaries will, we are sure, be glad to hear that the *Abbé de la Rue*, the learned Professor of History, at Caen, has at length in the press his long promised work "*On the Norman and Anglo-Norman Poets.* To those readers of our own country, who delight in such matters, the volumes in question must be doubly acceptable, if they contain, as we believe they do, fresh proofs in confirmation of the opinion which their learned author promulgated in the Archæologia, during his residence among us, namely "that it was from England and Normandy that the French received the first works which deserve to be cited in their language."

Dr. Desgenettes has been elected an *associé libre* of the French Academy of Sciences, in room of M. Henri Cassini, deceased.

M. Flourens has been elected professor of human anatomy at the Museum of Natural History, in the *Jardin des Plantes.*

M. Guibourt has been elected professor of natural history at the *Ecole de Pharmacie.*

M. Elie de Beaumont has been elected professor of natural history in the *Collège de France*, in the room of M. Cuvier.

M. de Blainville has been promoted from the chair of zoology to that of comparative anatomy, at the Museum of Natural History in the *Jardin des Plantes;* and M. Valenciennes (the coadjutor of Cuvier in the *Natural History of Fishes*) has succeeded him in the former chair.

Dr. Double has been elected a member of the Academy of Sciences, Section of Medicine, in the room of Dr. Portal, deceased.

M. Salfi, the continuator of Ginguéné's History of Italian Literature, and author of several other esteemed works, died recently of the cholera at Paris.

Professor Lemaire, editor of the well-known collection of the Latin classical writers, died at Paris in September.

The works of the celebrated Lanjuinais are now in a course of publication at Paris, under the editorship of his son M. Victor Lanjuinais, who discharges his arduous undertaking with sound judgment and ability. The volumes already published contain many works of permanent interest and utility, as, for example, the admirable *Traité Historique et Politique sur la Charte;* and even those of Lanjuinais' writings which were composed for temporary objects, are all remarkable for that constant reference to the great principles of morals and politics which form the chief excellence of Burke. A spirited and remarkably well-written biographical notice has been prefixed to the first volume by the editor.

We have observed a new feature in a recently established French journal, in which a department is appropriated to *Correspondence with the Working Classes*, by which means the feelings and opinions of that useful body are

brought to light, and many useful facts and suggestions are elicited. The letters themselves are not always communicated, but abridgements and extracts are given of such as are most remarkable, accompanied with observations by the editor.

The class of Moral and Political Sciences of the Institute, which had been suppressed by the Imperial Government of France, has been revived by Louis-Philippe, as an integral part of the National Institute, under the title of *Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques*. The number of members is fixed at thirty, and those who are still alive of the former members at the time of the suppression of the class by Bonaparte, are to form part of the new body: the names of these individuals are MM. Dacier, Daunou, Garat, Lacuée, Merlin, Pastoret, Reinhardt, Roederer, Sieyes, and Talleyrand. The following seven were elected on the 8th of December last:—MM. Laromiguière, Duc de Bassano, Baron Bignon, Guizot, Berenger, Charles Dupin, and Dunoyer. There still remain seven nominations to be made.

GERMANY.

Professor Hahn, of Leipzig, has recently published one of the cheapest and most neatly executed stereotype editions of the Hebrew Bible which has ever issued from any press. He has adopted the text of Vanderhoogh't's celebrated edition of 1705, taking care, however, to correct carefully the errors which disfigure it, amounting, according to M. d'Allemand's account in the preface to his beautifully printed London edition, to not less than two hundred.

We have been much gratified in looking over some numbers of *Views of the principal Buildings of Berlin*, with descriptive letter-press, by Dr. Spiker, one of the Royal Librarians, who is favourably known in this country by his travels in Great Britain. The plates are well engraved, and the work is remarkably cheap.

Von Raumer is engaged on a History of Europe, from the end of the 15th century, in 6 vols. His object, in this new work, is to furnish an animated and connected view of the most remarkable occurrences of modern history.

The following singular advertisement has appeared in many of the literary journals of Germany: "A young bookseller, who has come into possession of considerable property, wishes to increase and enliven his business by the publication of works of scientific worth and universal interest. From the want of adequate acquaintance, and a certain bashfulness, which renders a personal proposal disagreeable to him, he chooses the medium of a public advertisement. Estimable literati, who may lend favourable attention to him, are requested to forward their proposals and manuscripts, carriage paid, to the address of A. i. Z., care of M. F. Fleischer, Leipzig, who has most kindly undertaken to forward all parcels to the proper address, and to *guarantee* their safety; and who will, with pleasure, give every information respecting the advertiser. A decided answer, either accepting or declining, is herewith promised, in the course of a few weeks from the time of reception."

ITALY.

ROME.—The latest statistical tables of Italy, give to the Papal government anarmy of only 6000 men. This is a great error, as it appears that the land forces alone amount to three times that number, or 18,000 men, of which thet wo Swiss regiments, which have been lately enlisted, form 4,400. These last, it is true, are not yet fully organized. On comparing this number with the total population of the Roman States, estimated at 2,700,000 inhabitants, (this is 100,000 more than the estimate in our present number, *ante,)* we find one soldier to 150 inhabitants. In France the population is one to 75. Reckoning that each soldier costs 100 scudi, the Swiss double that sum, we shall not be very far wrong in reckoning the annual expense of the Roman military force at two millions of scudi (430,000*l.*), a sum equal to one-fourth of the whole Papal revenues. The naval forces are nothing, or next to nothing.

The Jews at Rome form a population of about 3,500 individuals, so crowded together in their *Ghetto*, that if the rest of the population was in the same state, the city would have a million of inhabitants. Although Leo XII. somewhat enlarged their quarter, space has yet been so parsimoniously measured out to them, that more than 80 families (consisting of from 9 to 13 individuals) are absolutely limited to a single apartment for each. In place of allowing them more room, of which, certainly, there is no lack at Rome, it was simply ordered that in the event of cholera breaking out, a Jews' hospital should be established beyond the precincts of the *Ghetto*. As a precaution against the disease, and as the Jews are principally rag merchants, and rags are supposed to contain pestilential miasmata, the government could think of no better device than issuing a decree, forbidding every Jew to keep more than a certain number of pounds of rags in his shop, under very severe penalties. This was not all. According to the Rabbinical rites, certain ministers, called *Sciattini*, are appointed to kill poultry in private houses; to remove the blood and feathers, the truly paternal government of His Holiness established a slaughter-house for poultry, in which they must all be killed and plucked.

Such are the precautions to which the ancient genius of Rome has given birth against the cholera; they are sufficient to excite derision, and to show in its true colours the utter and helpless incapacity of the administration of modern Rome. Another recently issued decree is not less ridiculous. Considering that the puppets wore too short petticoats, the Papal government, in its anxiety for public morals, prescribed the length in which they were in future to wear them, grounded on the grave injury to public modesty which this indecency occasioned.

NAPLES.—A new journal has been recently commenced here, under the title of "Il Progresso delle Scienze, delle Lettere è delle Arti; Opera Periodica, compilata per cura di G. R." The object of which is announced to be to communicate to the Italians and to foreigners a knowledge of the most remarkable Italian works on Science, Literature, and Art, and more especially to inform his countrymen of the contents of foreign works on the same subject. We have seen several numbers of this journal, which appear to be well executed.

Sestini, the celebrated Antiquary, died at Florence in June last. He was born in 1750.

Monsignor Mai, the indefatigable librarian of the Vatican, has published Vol. IV. and V. of his *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio*, from the Vatican MSS.* In the 4th volume are the Acts, till now unedited, of a Synod of Constantinople, held under the Emperor Manuel, in 1166, and the principal object of which was the definition of Christ's words, *quia pater meus major me est*. The principal part, however, of the same volume is engrossed by a long and valuable catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the Vatican Library, 787 in number, divided into four classes: 1. Of Christian Writers. 2. Of Mahomedan MSS., among which are many Korans. 3. Of Christian and Mahomedan mixed. 4. Of the MSS. belonging to the learned Maronite family of the Assemani, and which Clement XIII. purchased for the Vatican library. This catalogue displays a rich harvest to the learned; besides Biblical works, and Arabic versions of the Old Testament, there are works on poetry, medicine, astronomy, and chemistry, sciences, all of which were sedulously cultivated by the Arabians in their palmy days. There are also short catalogues of the few Persian and Turkish MSS. existing in the library. Also two historical fragments by Giuseppe Simonio Assemani, one on the eastern heretical works, and the other on the Christian population of the ancient Patriarchate of Antioch. The elder Assemani had once begun the Arabic catalogue, but published only ten sheets of it. The 5th volume of Mai's work contains the rich collection of Christian Inscriptions, Latin and Greek, from the beginning of our era till the year 100, the work of many years' labour by Monsignor Marini, but which that learned prelate had not time to publish, and which he bequeathed to the Vatican library. The second part of the volume consists of additional Catalogues: 1. Of the Syriac MSS. acquired by the Vatican library, since the Assemani published their catalogue in 1758—9; and, among the rest, those belonging to the Assemani themselves, 202 in number. 2. Of 80 MSS. added to the Hebrew catalogue, likewise compiled by the Assemani, in 1756, with a few Æthiopic, Sclavonian, and Armenian, some Indian, and about 80 Coptic ones; and lastly, two Dissertations, by Giuseppe Simonio Assemani, on the Nation of the Copts, on the Nestorian Controversy, and on the Christian Nations of the East.

Italy has lately lost two of her most distinguished men of science, Scarpa and Oriani. Antonio Scarpa, the celebrated professor of Anatomy and Surgery, died at Pavia on the 31st October last. He was born about 1750 in the province of Treviso; he made himself early known for his anatomical learning, and was professor at Pavia at the epoch of the French invasion in 1796. He then refused to take the oath to the Republic, and was consequently dismissed from his chair. Napoleon, in 1805, having made himself King of Italy, went to visit, among other places, the University of Pavia, the professors of which were duly introduced to him. He suddenly inquired where Scarpa was? The reply was, that Scarpa had been dismissed long since, on account of his political opinions, and because he had refused to take the oaths. "And what have political opinions, and refusal of oaths, to do in such case?" impatiently interrupted Napoleon. "Dr. Scarpa is an honor to the University, and to my States." Scarpa was therefore invited to resume his chair, which he did, and he continued to lecture to a very advanced age, occasionally employing one of his pupils as a substitute. Besides his great fame in the scientific world, his personal character was held in the highest estimation, and he was beloved and revered by his disciples. The principal among his numerous works are: his Treatise on the Organs of Hearing and Smelling, published at Pavia, in 1789; his *Tabulæ Nevrologiæ*, or Plates of the Nerves of the Human Frame, Pavia, 1794; his Essays on the Principal Diseases of the Eyes, 1801; his work on

* For a notice of the contents of the former volumes, see F. Q. R. vol. iv, p. 673.

Aneurism, 1804; and his Treatise on Hernia, Milan, 1809. Scarpa was also a great lover of the Fine Arts, and had formed a valuable collection of paintings by the first Italian Masters.

Barnaba Oriani was the disciple of Lagrange, whom he succeeded in the direction of the Milan Observatory, and in the compilation of the *Ephemerides*. He contributed, by his observations, to the great map of the kingdom of Italy, drawn under Napoleon, by whom he was made Senator, and Knight of the Iron Crown. Oriani died at Milan in November last. He was the oldest of the living Italian astronomers.

The publication of the Great Italian Dictionary, compiled at Bologna, is now completed in seven large 4to. volumes. It is considered the most perfect Italian Dictionary in existence. The early volumes of it were briefly noticed in this Journal, vol. ii. p. 710.

Bazzoni, a novelist of some talent, author of *Il Castello di Trezzo*, has published *Racconti Storici*, illustrative of the middle ages in Italy.

The Italian presses, especially those of Milan, continue to bring forth numerous works of light entertaining prose, novels, tales, sketches of life and manners, and tours. The two friends, David Bertolotti and Defendente Sacch, are among the most active of those who find them occupation. Bertolotti has lately published *Racconti e Pitture di Costumi*, in his usual easy, flowing strain. Sacchi, of whose skill in the lore of the middle ages we had a proof in his *Antichita Romantiche d' Italie*,* and who unites facility of style with purity of language, has now published two little volumes of *Varieta Litterarie*, or Essays on the Manners and Arts of the Present Age in Italy, with Sketches of Distinguished Characters. We observe, with pleasure, in most of these popular works, a manly moral tone; without the least taint of cant, servility, or bigotry, but also without any of that licentious, sceptical, and sneering spirit which disfigures many productions of the light literature of some other countries.

ORIENTAL LITERATURE.

The benefits conferred on Oriental Literature by the English Society of Translations from the Eastern languages, are highly appreciated by the learned world; but there appears to be a very general wish on the part of Continental Orientalists, that the society should publish the original text along with the translations, that the means might hereafter be afforded of a more critical examination of both.

M. Eliacin Carmoly, Grand Rabbi of Belgium, and Member of the Asiatic Society of Paris, intends publishing, shortly, a new edition of the Travels of Benjamin of Tudela, in Hebrew, from a MS. of the 15th century, and accompanied with notes and a French translation. The whole will be comprised in one volume 8vo.

A translation of Von Hamer's History of the Assassins (Geschichte der Assassinen) into French, is announced for speedy publication.

Mr. Klaproth has published an account of the great Chinese Encyclopœdia, which may be considered as a view of the civilization of China from the commencement of the Empire down to 1224. It was first printed in 1322, again in 1524, and again in 1747, and has had several supplements added to it.

---

* See No. 12, of this Review.

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL NEW WORKS

PUBLISHED ON THE CONTINENT,

FROM OCTOBER, 1832, TO DECEMBER, 1832, INCLUSIVE.

THEOLOGY AND ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

1 La Bible, Traduction nouvelle avec l'Hebreu en regard, par S. Cahen. Tome III. 8vo. 6s. 6d.
2 Francillon, Histoire de la Passion de notre Seigneur Jesus Christ. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
3 Grandpierre, Discours sur quelques sujets de religion et de morale. 8vo. 6s. 6d.
4 Ruttenstock, Institutiones historiae Ecclesiast. N. T. Tom. II. 8vo. *Viennae.* 14s.
5 Vita D. Aur. Augustini, Episcopi Hipponensis, auctore incerto. Ex antiquo cod. nunc primum edidit A. G. Cramer. 8vo. *Kiliae.* 3s. 6d.
6 Judaica, seu vet. Scriptor. profan. de Rebus Judaicis fragmenta, collegit F. C. Meier. 8vo. *Jenae.* 2s.
7 Hermogenes Africanus, De moribus ejus, praecipue dogmaticis opinionibus exposuit Boehmanis. 8vo. *Sund.* 7s.
8 Stapf, Theologia Moralis in compendium redacta. 2 Vols. 8vo. 10s.
9 Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti, ed. Thilo. Tom. I. gr. 8vo. *Lips.* 1l. 2s. 6d.
10 Eckermann, De fidaei modestia nostris temporibus maximopere commendanda. 4to. *Kiliae.* 2s. 6d.
11 Rütenick, Die christliche Lehre für Konfirmanden. 2 Theile. 12mo. *Berl.* 10s.
12 Steiger, Kritik des Rationalismus in Wegscheiders Dogmatik. 8vo. *Berl.* 4s. 6d.
13 Tholück, Commentar zum Evangelio Johannis. 8vo. *Hamburg.* 12s.
14 Matthies, Baptismatis expositio biblica historica dogmatica. 8vo. *Berol.* 10s.
15 Muller, Lutheri de Praedestinatione et libero arbitrio doctrina. 4to. *Gotting.* 4s.
16 Schrader, Der Apostel Paulus. 2 Theile. 8vo. *Leipz.* 15s.
17 Luther's Katechismus. 12mo. *Berlin.* 1s. 6d.
18 Novum Test. Gr. et Lat. ed. Göschen. 8vo. *Lips.* 10s.
19 Meier, Nationes veterum Ebraeorum de Rebus post mortem futuris, script. vet. Testament. comprobatae. 8vo. *Jenae.* 2s.
20 Rücket, Commentar über den Brief Pauli an die Römer. 8vo. *Leips.* 15s.

LAW AND JURISPRUDENCE.

21 Tittmann, Geschichte der deutschen Strafgesetze. 8vo. *Leipz.* 9s.
22 Goertz, Examinatorium de hodierno Jure Romano privato. 12mo. *Lips.* 10s.
23 Metman, Specimen juridicum de Delictis Agrariis. 8vo. *Traj. ad Rh.* 6s.

MORAL PHILOSOPHY, METAPHYSICS, EDUCATION, AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

24 Gerlach, Lehrbuch der philosophischen Wissenschaften. 2 Bde. 8vo. *Halle.* 1l. 1s.
25 Moralische Briefe, geschrieben aus unserer Zeit. 8vo. *Strassb.* 2s. 6d.
26 Göschel, Hegel und seine Zeit. Mit Rücksicht auf Göthe. 8vo. *Berl.* 4s.
27 Windeschmann, Philosophie im Fortgang der Weltgeschichte. 1ster Theil. 3te Abtheil. gr. 8vo. *Bonn.* 12s. 6d.
28 Ruge, Die Platonische Aesthetik dargestellt. 8vo. *Halle.* 6s. 6d.
29 Stern, Lehrgang des Rechnen-Unterrichtes nach geistbildenden Grundsätzen. 8vo. *Karls.* 3s.

30 Fries, Handbuch der Religionsphilosophie und philosophischen Aesthetik. 8vo. *Heidelb.* 7s.
31 Hegel, Wissenschaft der Logik. 1ster Theil. 8vo. *Stuttg.* 15s.

MATHEMATICS, PHYSICS AND CHEMISTRY.

32 Hirsch, Exemples, Formules et Problèmes du Calcul littéral et de l'Algebre. 8vo. *Berl.* 7s.
33 Oettinger, Geometrische Aufgaben. 2 Theile. 8vo. *Karlsr.* 18s.
34 Suckow, Die chemischen Wirkungen des Lichtes. 8vo. *Darmst.* 8s.
35 Brum, Abhandlungen über chemische Reagentien. 8vo. *Wien.* 3s.
36 Gusserow, Chemie des Organismus. 8vo. *Berl.* 7s.
37 Fischer, Ueber das Unendlichkleine der Atomen. 4to. *Berl.* 2s. 6d.
38 Berzelius Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der physischen Wissenschaften. 11ter Jahrg. 8vo. *Tübing.* 8s. 6d.
39 Eschenmayer, Grundriss der Natur-Philosophie. 8vo. 8s.
40 Euleri, Institutionum Calculi Integratis. 3 Vol. 4to. Edit. 3. 4to. *Petropol.* 2*l.* 12s. 6d.
41 Röttger, Kritik der mathematischen Naturlehre. 2 Theile. 12mo. 12s.
42 Schumann, Natur des Erdkörpers. 8vo. *Leipz.* 10s.
43 Fechner, Repertorium der Experimental Physik. 3 Bde. 8vo. *Leipz.* 1*l.* 18s.

NATURAL SCIENCES.

44 Zieten, Die Versteinerungen Würtembergs. 7tes und 8tes Heft. 4to. *Stuttg.* 1*l.* 4.
45 Schutz, Natürliches System des Pflanzenreichs nach seiner inneren Organisation. 8vo. *Berlin.* 15s.
46 Schmalz, Thierveredlungskunde. 8vo. *Königsberg.*
47 Kaup, Atlas faisant suite aux Ossemens fossiles. Liv. I. 4to. *Darmst.* 7s.
48 Gennar, Fauna Insector. Europae. Fasc. 14 et 15. *Halae.* 14s.
49 Schummel und Stannius, Beiträge zur Entomologie. Heft 1 und 2. 12mo. *Bresl.* 5s.
50 Smutz, Dissertatio Zoologica, Enumerationem Mammalium Capensium continens. 4to. 3 Tabulis color. adjunctis. *Leidae.* 15s.
51 Herold, De Generatione Aranearum in Ovo. Folio. *Marb.* 2*l.*
52 Nees von Esenbeck, &c., Bryologia Germanica. 2ter Theil, 2te Abtheil. 8vo. *Nürnb.* 1*l.* 2s. 6d.
53 Hahn, Die Arachniden. 2tes Heft. 8vo. *Nürnb.* 4s. 6d.
54 —— Wanzenartige Insekten. 2tes Heft. 8vo. 4s. 6d.
55 Maximilian, Prinz zu Wied, Beiträge zur Naturgeschichte, von Brasilien. IV. Band. 1ste Abtheil. 8vo. *Weimar.* 9s.
56 Leuckart, De rariori et singulari Animalium quorundam vertebratorum habitu, &c. 4to. *Heidelb.* 2s.
57 Dietrich, Flora Regni Borussica. Fasc. I. gr. 8vo. *Berl.* 5s.
58 Bischoff, Grundriss der medicinischen Botanik. 2 Bde. 8vo. *Heidelb.* 16s. 6d.
59 Lenz, Schlangenkunde. 8vo., & Atlas. *Gotha.* 1*l.* 2s.
60 Freyer, Beiträge zur Geschichte europäischer Schmetterlinge. 3 Bde. 12mo. 144 color. Kupfertaf. *Augsb.* 4*l.* 10s.
61 Nordmann, Mikrographische Beiträge zur Naturgeschichte der wirbellosen Thiere. 2 Theile, mit 20 Kupfertaf. 4to. *Berlin.* 1*l.* 10s.
62 Psychrometertafeln. 4 Sheets.
63 Jahn, Hypsometrische Tafeln. 18mo. *Leipz.* 2s. 6d.
64 Ehrenberg, Ueber Infusorien. 2ter Beitrag. Folio. *Berl.* 16s.
65 Leopold von Buch, Ueber Ammoniten. 4to. *Berlin.* 4s. 6d.
66 Physikalische Abhandlungen der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. 4to. 1*l.*
67 Meyer, Palaeologica zur Geschichte der Erde und ihrer Geschöpfe. 8vo. *Frankf.* 17s.
68 Burmeister, Handbuch der Entomologie. 1ster Band. Allgemeine Entomologie. gr. 8vo. Mit 16 Kupfertaf. in 4to. *Berlin.* 1*l.* 4s.

69 Martius, Grundriss der Pharmakognosie des Pflanzenreichs. gr. 8vo. *Erlang.* 13s.
70 Gistl, Enumeratio Coleopterorum agri Monacensis. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
71 Wiegmann und Ruthe, Handbuch der Zoologie. 8vo. *Berl.* 12s.
72 Deshayes, Description des Coquilles fossiles des environs de Paris. 26e Liv. 4to. 5s.
74 Flore de Senegambie, ou Descriptions, histoire, et propriétés des plantes qui croissent dans les diverses contrées de la Senegambie, par Leprieur et Perrottet. 7e Liv. 4to. 12s.
74* ——————— colored. 1*l.* 5.
75 Raup, Description d'Ossemens fossiles de Mammifères inconnus jusqu'à present, qui se trouvent au Museum grand Ducal de Darmstadt. 1r. cahier. 4to. Avec atlas. 7s.
76 De Broudeau, Recueil de Plantes Cryptogames de l'Agenais, omises dans la Flore Angenaise, fasciculi 1, 2, 3. 8vo. *Agin.* 10s. 6d.
77 Lesson, Des Trochilidées, ou les Colibris et les Oiseaux mouches. Liv. IV. to VII. 8vo. Each 5s.

MEDICAL SCIENCES.

78 Gurlt, Anatom. Abbildlungen der Haus-Säuge-Thiere. 14te Lief. 8s.
79 Rathke, Abhandlungen zur Bildungs und Entwickelungs-Geschichte des Menschen und Thiere. 1ster Theil. 4to. *Leips.* 10s.
80 Töltenyi, De Principiis Pathologiae generalis. 2 Vol. 8vo. *Vien.* 15s.
81 Reuss, Du Choléra contagieux, des moyens surs de guerir cette Maladie dans tous ses degrès et dans toutes ses modifications, etc. 8vo. 1s.
82 Tavernier, Supplement au nouveau dictionnaire de Médecine, Chirurgie, Pharmacie. 8vo. 4s.
83 Forget, Médecine navale, ou nouveaux elements d'Hygiène, de Pathologie, etc. Tome II. 8vo. 7s.
84 Dictionnaire de Médecine et de Chirurgie pratiques, par MM. Andral, Begin, etc. Tome IX. 8vo. 7s.
85 Traité pratique des maladies de l'Uterus et de ses annexes, fondé sur un grand nombre d'Observations cliniques, par Me. veuve Boivin, et par A. Dugès. IVe Liv. Folio. 7s. 6.

MILILARY SCIENCE.

86 Traité de Tactique, par feu le Colonel Marquis de Ternay; revu, corrigé et augmenté, par Fred. Koch. 2 Vols. 8vo. Atlas. 2*l.* 5s.
87 Bonjouan de Lavarenne, Mémorial de l'officier d'état major en campagne ou recueil de documens utiles pour faire la guerre. 8vo. 10s.

MISCELLANEOUS ARTS AND SCIENCES.

88 Rauer, Die Probleme der Staatskunst, Philosophie und Physik. 8vo. *Leips.* 6s.
89 Acta Societatis Jablonoviae Nova. Tom. IV. Fasc. II. 4to. *Lips.* 12s.
90 Abhandlungen der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, für 1830. 4to. *Berlin.* 2*l.* 2s.
91 Kleine Astronomische Ephemeriden, für das Jahr 1833. *Götting.* 3s. 6d.
92 Encke, Ueber den Cometen von Pons. 2 Abhandlungen. 4to. *Berl.* 4s.
93 Bessel, Versuche über die Kraft mit welcher die Erd-Körper von verschiedener Beschaffenheit anzieht. 4to. *Berl.* 3s. 6d.
94 Hansen, Untersuchung über die gegenseitigen Störungen des Jupiters und Saturns. 4to. *Berl.* 10s.
95 Encke, Astronomisches Jahrbuch, für 1834. 8vo. 13s.
96 ——— Ueber die geographische Länge und Breite der Berliner Sternwarte. 4to. *Berl.* 2s. 6d.
97 Poncelet et Lesbros, Experiences hydrauliques sur les lois et l'ecoulement de l'Eau à travers les orifices rectangulaires verticaux à grandes dimensions. 4to. 14s.
98 Rose, Traité pratique d'Analyse chesmique suivi di tables, servant, dans les analyses, à calculer la quantité d'une substance d'après celle qui a été trouvée d'une autre substance. 2 Vols. 8vo. 16s.

FINE ARTS.

99 Caillaud, Recherches sur les Arts et Metiers, les usages de la vie civile et domestique des anciens peuples de l'Egypte, de la Nubie, et de l'Ethiopie, etc. Liv. VI. et VII. 4to. each 10s. 6d.

100 Quatremère de Quincy, Dictionnaire historique d'Architecture, comprenant dans son plan les notions historiques, descriptives, archéologiques, biographiques, theoriques, etc. 2 Vols. 4to. 3*l.* 3s.

101 Alexandre de Laborde, Les monumens de la France, classés chronologiquement, etc. 38e Liv. Folio. 1*l.* 4s.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, VOYAGES, TRAVELS, &c.

102 Jost, Allgemeine Geschichte des israelitischen Volkes. 2 Bde. 8vo. *Berlin.* 1*l.* 4s.

103 Lorentz, Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte. 8vo. *Halle.* 7s.

104 Bronikowski, Meine Auswanderung von Warschau bis Dresden. 4s.

105 Neuer Nekrolog der Deutschen, 8ter Jahrgang. 2 Thle. 12mo. *Ilmenau.* 1*l.*

106 Kotzebue, Geschichte des deutschen Reiches. 3ter und 4ter Bd. 8vo. *Leips.* 18s.

107 Rosenkranz, Handbuch einer allgemeine Geschichte der Poesie. 2 Thle. 8vo. *Halle.* 14s.

108 Ludvigh, Reise in Ungarn im Jahre 1831. 8vo. *Pesth.* 8s.

109 Roon, 26 Tabellen Grundzüge der Erd-, Völker- und Staaten-Kunde. Folio. *Berlin.*

110 Eschwege, Beiträge zur Gebirgskunde Brasiliens. 8vo. *Berl.* 18s.

111 Merleker, Geschichte des ätolisch-achäischen Bundesgenossen-Krieges. 8vo. *Königsb.* 2s.

112 Ritter's Erdkunde von Asien. 8vo. Band 1. *Berl.* 1*l.* 4s.

113 Walhalla, oder Biographien der berühmtesten Deutschen. 2ter Bd. 1stes Heft. 8vo. *München.* 2s.

114 De Renesse-Breidbach, Histoire numismatique de l'Evêché et Principauté de Liége. 2 Vols. 8vo. Planches. *Bruxelles.* 1*l.* 10s.

115 Schmidt, Mathematische Geographie. 4to. *Leips.* 4s.

116 Hyakinth, Denkwürdigkeiten über die Mongolei. 8vo. *Berl.* 12s.

117 Flathe, Geschichte Macedoniens. 1ster Thl. 8vo. *Leips.* 14s.

118 Bucholtz, Geschichte der Regierung Ferdinand des Ersten. 3 Bde. gr. 8vo. *Wien.* 2*l.* 2s.

119 Raumer's Historisches Taschenbuch, für 1833. *Leips.* 8s. 6d.

120 Niebuhr, Römische Geschichte. 3ter Thl. 8vo. *Berl.* 1*l.* 2s. 6d.

121 ——————————— Fine Paper. 1*l.* 10s.

122 Breitschwert, Keplers Leben und Wirken. 12mo. *Stuttg.* 5s.

123 Beschreibung der Stadt Rom, von Platner, Bunsen, &c. 2ter Bd. gr. 8vo. *Stuttg.* 10s.

124 Raumer, Beschreibung der Erdoberfläche. 8vo. *Leips.* 1s. 6d.

125 Cannabich, Lehrbuch der Geographie. 13te berichtigte und vermehrte Auflage. gr. 8vo. *Ilmenau.* 9s.

126 Mannert, Geschichte der alten Deutschen, besonders der Franken. 2ter Thl. 8vo. *Stuttg.* 15s.

127 Bildersaal für Geschichte, Natur und Kunst. 1stes Heft. 4to. *Karlsr.* 1s. 6d.

128 Raumer's Lehrbuch der allgemeine Geographie. 8vo. *Leipz.* 6s. 6d.

129 Mémoires de Louis XVIII. recueillies et mis en ordre par M. le Duc de D***. Tomes VII. et VIII. 8vo. 1*l.*

130 Mémoires tirés des papiers d'un homme d'état, sur les causes secretes qui ont determiné la politique des cabinets dans les guerres de la Revolution. Vol. VI. 8vo. 10s.

131 Le Duc Charles de Brunswick, avant et depuis la Revolution de Brunswick en Septembre, 1830. 8vo. 10s.

132 Mémoires du Cardinal Pacca, contenant des notes sur son ministère et l'histoire de ses deux voyages en France, traduits de l'Italien par l'Abbé Jamet. Tome I. 8vo. 8s.

133 Hennechet, Seize Ans sous les Bourbons, 1814—1830. Tome I. 8vo. 10s.
134 Rozet, Chronique de Juillet, 1830. 2 Vols. 8vo. 1*l.*
135 Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la Revolution de 1830, publiés par M. Alex. Mazas. 8vo. 10s.
136 Filon, Histoire comparée de France et de l'Angleterre. 8vo. 8s.
137 Vie politique de Louis-Philippe d'Orléans Egalité premier Prince du Sang, et membre de la Convention. 8vo. 4s.
138 Histoire secrète du Directoire. Tomes III. et IV. 8vo. 1*l.*
139 Guizot, Cours d'histoire moderne, Histoire de la Civilisation en France, depuis la Chute de l'Empire Romain jusqu'en 1789. Tome V. 8vo. 12s.
140 Biographic Gallery of the Polish Revolution, or, One Hundred Portraits of Individuals who acted a distinguished part in the last War of Polish Independence, by J. Straszlwicz. Liv. IV. et V. Folio. Each 14s.
140* ——————————— 8vo. 7s.
141 Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne. Partie mythologique, ou histoire, par ordre alphabetique, des personnages des tems heroiques et des divinités Grecques, etc. Tomes LIII. et LIV. 2 Vols. 8vo. 21s.

POETRY, THE DRAMA, &c.

142 Raupach, Dramatische Werke, komischer Gattung. 2ter Bd. 12mo. *Hamburg.* 8s. 6d.
143 Maltitz, Pfefferkörner. 3tes Heftlein. 18mo. *Hamb.* 3s. 6d.
144 Schiessler, Neues Deutsches Original Theater. 6 Bdchen. *Prag.* 1*l.* 10s.
145 Schiller's Politisches Vermächtniss. 12mo. *Hamb.* 1s. 6.
146 Shakspeare, Dramatische Werke, übersetzt von Schlegel, ergänzt und erläutert von Tieck. 7ter Thl. 8vo. *Berlin.* 5s.
147 Goethe, Reinecke Fuchs, in 12 Gesängen. Neue Auflage. 12mo. 3s. 6d.
148 Harring, Harro, Der Renegat auf Moren. Trauerspiel. 12mo. *Braunschweig.* 3s. 6d.
149 Bechstein, L., Faustus. Ein Gedicht. 4to. *Leipz.* 15s.
150 Uhland's Gedichte. Neue Auflage. 12mo. *Stuttg.* 10s.
151 Raupach, Denk' an Cäsar! Possenspiel. 12mo. *Hamb.*
152 Karoli, Jedem das Seine! Lustspiel. 18mo. *Iserlohn.* 2s.
153 Lindner, Dr., Arved Gyllenstjerna. Drama. 12mo. *Bayreuth.*
154 Schütz, G., Armin genannt Herrman der Cherusker. Trauerspiel. 12mo. *Hamb.*
155 Lauter, C., Prinz Hugo. Trauerspiel. 12mo. *Berlin.* 5s.
156 Berg, W., Der Bürger. Schauspiel. 12mo. *Cassel.*
157 Harfenklänge, Polen's Erinnerungen und seiner Heimathlosen geweiht. 12mo. *Darmstadt.* 1s. 6d.
158 Ortlepp, E., Frankreich, Russland, Deutschland und Polen, oder Stimmen des Gegenwart. 12mo. *Hamburg.* 2s. 6d.
159 Wackernagel, Dr., Auswahl deutscher Gedichte. 8vo. *Berlin.* 8s.
160 Teatro Español auterior a Lope de Vega. 8vo. *Hamb.* 14s.

NOVELS AND ROMANCES.

161 Döring, G., Phantasie-Gemälde, 1833. 12mo. *Frankf. a. M.* 7s. 6d.
162 Lindner, Dr. Wolf, Einige humoristische Abende. 18mo. *Nurnb.* 3s. 6d.
163 Mariannus, Komische Scenen aus dem akademischen Welt. 12mo. *Leipz.*
164 Briefe eines Narren an eine Närrin. 12mo. *Hamb.* 8s. 6d.
165 Merlin's Liebe und Zauberei. Phantasiestück von August. 12mo. *Weimar.* 3s. 6d.
166 Spindler, C., Sommermalven. Erzählungen. 2 Vols. 12mo. *Stuttg.*
167 Bechstein, L., Arabesken. 12mo. *Stuttg.* 5s.
168 Bronikowski, Meine Auswanderung von Warschau bis Dresden. 12mo. *Paris.* 4s.
169 Wachsmann, C. von, Erzählungen und Novellen. 4 Vols. 12mo. *Leipz.* 1*l.* 15s.
170 Briefe eines Lebenden. 2 Vols. 12mo. *Berlin.* 16s.
171 Woltmann, Der Ultra und der Liberale, und die Weisse Frau. 12mo. 8s.

172 Bronikowski, Beate. Novelle. 3 Vols. 12mo. *Leipz.* 1*l.* 2s. 6d.
173 Rumohr, Deutsche Denkwürdigkeiten, aus alten Papieren. 4 Vols. 12mo. *Berl.* 1*l.* 2s. 6d.
174 Pichler, Henriette von England. Novelle. 12mo. *Wien.* 7s. 6d.
175 Bibliothek der Novellen, Märchen und Sagen. Die Quellen des Shakspeare. 3 Vols. 12mo. *Berlin.* 15s.
176 Süd, A. V. T., Das Haus der Grafen Owinski. 12mo. *Leipz.* 5s.
177 Kruse, L., Mesmerische Liebe. Erzählung. Das Mädchen von Rhodos. Novelle. 12mo. *Leipz.* 6s.
178 Schäfer, Leop., Lavabecher. Novellen. 2 Vols. 12mo. *Stuttg.*
179 Schoppe, Amalie, Marie, oder: Liebe bildet. 12mo. *Leipz.*
180 Storch, L., Der Freibeuter. Histor. Roman. 3 Vols. 12mo. *Leipz.* 1*l.* 1s.
181 Drouineau, Resignée. 2 Vols. 8vo. 1*l.*
182 Salmigondis. Contes de toutes les couleurs. Tome IV. 8vo. 10s.
183 James, Mémoires de mes Creanciers. 2 Vols. 8vo. 1*l.*
184 Janin, Contes fantastiques et contes litteraires. 4 Vols. 12mo. 1*l.*
185 Scènes du grand Monde, une inclination, un mariage, un amour. 2 Vols. 8vo. 1*l.*
186 Fouinet, La Stréga. 2 Vols. 8vo. 1*l.*
187 Thomas Morus, Lord Chancelier du royaume d'Angleterre au 16e Siècle. 2 Vols. 8vo. 1*l.*
188 Bonnelier, Calomnie. 8vo. 10s.
189 Le livre des conteurs. Tome I. 8vo. 10s.

POETRY.

190 Victor Hugo, Le Roi s'amuse. Drame. 8vo. 8s.
191 Feuillide, Deux Ans de Règne, troisième Epitre à Paul Louis Courier. 8vo. 2s.

CLASSICAL LIT., PHILOLOGY, AND BIBLIOGRAPHY.

192 Apparatus crit. et exeget. in Aeschyli Trag. Vol. II. (Abreschii Animadvers. libros.) 8vo. *Halae.* 11s.
193 Virgilius, Variet. Lect. ed. Heyne. Edit. IV. cura Wagner. Vol. II. 8vo. *Lips.* 15s.
194 ——— Idem Liber. Charta vel. 2*l.* 10s.
195 Gargilii Martialis quae supersunt. E. Codd. Neapol. et Vaticanis, eruit A. Majus. 12mo. *Lunaeb.* 1s.
196 Wällner, Ueber Ursprung und Unbedeutung der sprachlichen Formen. 8vo. 10s.
197 Stephanus, Thesaurus Gracae Linguae, ed. Hase, &c. Fasc. III. Fol. *Paris.* 16s.
198 Epistolae mutae duumvirorum clarissimorum Ruhnkerii et Valckenauii, nunc primum ex Autographis editae a Mahne. 8vo. *Vlissin.* 5s.
199 Anecdota Graeca e Codicibus Regiis, descripsit Annotatione illustravit Boissonade. Vol. IV. gr. 8vo. *Paris.* 1*l.* 1s.
200 Baehr, Geschichte der römischen Literatur. 2te vielfach vermehrte und berichtigte Ausgabe. 8vo. *Karlsr.* 15s.
201 Rosenkranz, Geschichte der Poesie. Vol. 2. 8vo. 7s.
202 Koch, Observationes in Timaei Lexicon, &c. 8vo. *Lips.* 2s.
203 Ficker, Anleitung zum Studium der griechischen und römischen Klassiker. 8vo. 13s.
204 Thomae Magistri sive Theoduli Monachi Ecloga vocum Atticarum, ex recens. et cum Prolegom. Ritschilii. 8vo. *Halae.* 18s.
205 Van Holst, De Eranis veterum Graecor. imprimis ex Jure Attico. 8vo. *Lugd.-Bat.* 6s.
206 Morstadt, Chrestomathie aus lateinischen Dichtern. 12mo. *Frankf.* 2s. 6d.
207 Ovidius, ed. Jahn. Vol. II. Part I. & II. 8vo. *Lips.* 1*l.* 1s.
208 ——— Metamorphoseon Lib. XV. quos ex edit. sua majore in usum scholarum accuratissime describendos curavit Jahn. 8vo. *Lips.* 5s.
209 Arriani, De Expedit. Alexandrini, cum Notis Ellendt. Vol. II. 8vo. 14s.
210 Atakta, ed. Coray. Vol. IV. Parts I. & II. 8vo. *Parisiis.* 1*l.* 8s.
211 Platonis Dialogos selectos, recens. et comment. instr. Stallbaum. Vol. IV. Part I. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

212 Sophoclis Tragoediae, recens. et explanavit Wunderus. Vol. I. Sect. II. 8vo. *Gothae.* 4s. 6d.
213 Homeri Ilias, recens. et brevi Annotat. instr. Spitzner. Vol. I. Sect. I. 8vo. *Gothae.* 4s. 6d.
214 Richter, griechische und lateinische Inschriften. 4to. *Berl.* 2*l.*
215 Klaproth, Examen critique des travaux de feu M. Champollion sur les Hieroglyphis. 8vo. 13s. 6d.
216 Fortia d'Urban, Essai sur l'Origine de l'Ecriture, sur son introduction dans la Grèce, et son usage jusqu'au tems d'Homère. 8vo. 6s. 6d.
217 Théry, De l'Esprit et de la critique littéraires chez les Peuples anciens et modernes. 2 Vols. 8vo. 16s.

GERMAN ANNUALS FOR 1833.

218 Penelope, Herausgegeb. von Theodore Hell, mit 8 Kupfern. *Leips.* 8s. 6d.
219 Minerva, mit Kupfern zu Goethe's Tasso. *Leips.* 10s.
220 Cornelia, Taschenbuch für Frauen, mit 8 Kupfern. 12s.
221 Vielliebchen, Herausgegeb. von Tromlitz, mit 8 Kupfern. *Leips.* 12s.
222 Deutscher Musenalmanach, von Chamisso und Schwab. *Leipz.* 7s. 6d.
223 Wintergrün, Herausgegeb. von Lotz. *Hamb.* 7s.
224 Taschenbuch, der Liebe und Freundschaft gewidmet, mit 11 Kupfern, und Kalender. *Frankf.* 7s. 6d.
225 Aurora, von J. G. Seidl, mit 4 Kupfern. *Wien.* 8s. 6d.
226 Rosen, mit 8 Kupfern. *Leips.* 12s.
227 Vergissmeinnicht, von H. Clauren, 8 Kupfern. *Leips.* 12s.
228 Vesta, mit 8 Kupfern. *Wien.* 18s.
229 Urania, mit 7 Kupfern. *Leips.* 10s.
230 Taschenbuch für Verlobte. 12mo. *Potsdam.* 4s. 6d.
231 Almanach de Gotha, 1833. 6s.
232 Taschenbuch zum geselligen Vergnügen. *Leipz.* 10s.
233 Alpenrosen. *Aarau.* 11s.
234 Cäcilia. Ein Taschenbuch für Freunde der Tonkunst. *Hamb.* 7s.
235 Gedenke Mein! *Wien.* 12s.
236 Vergissmeinnicht. Herausgegeb. von Spindler. *Stuttg.* 12s.
237 Kotzebue, Aug. von, Almanach Dramatischer Spiele. *Hamb.* 8s.
238 Müchler, K., Anekdoten-Almanach auf das Jahr 1833. *Berlin.* 7s.
239 Raumer, Historisches Taschenbuch. Vierter Jahrgang. *Leips.* 8s. 6s.

ORIENTAL LITERATURE.

240 Rosenkranz, Geschichte der orientalischen Poesie. 8vo. *Halle.* 7s. 6d.
241 Bopp, Ueber den Einfluss der Prononina auf die Wortbildung im Sanskrit und den mit ihm verwandten Sprachen. 4to. *Berlin.* 2s. 6d.
242 Windeschmann, Grundlagen der Philosophie im Morgenland. 8vo. *Bonn.* 12s. 6d.
243 Marcus Aurelius, in Persian and Modern Greek, by Von Hammer. gr. 8vo. *Vienna.* 16s. 6d.
244 Mohammedi Filii Choudschahi, vulgo Mirchoudi, Historia Gasnevidarum. Pers. et Lat., ed. Wilken. 4to. *Berl.* 1*l.* 18s.
245 Werke des Chinesischen Weisen Khung-Fu-Dsu und seiner Schüler, übersetz von Schott. 2ter Thl. 12mo. *Berl.* 5s.
246 Mischna, die. 2ter Thl. 4to. *Leipz.* 10s.